A VINDICATION OF EPISCOPACIE.

OR, ANIMADVERSIONS upon a late Pamphlet intituled,

[UNPARALLEL'D REASONS FOR THE ABOLISHING OF *EPISCOPACY*.]

Pretending that

1. *It will assure His Majesties authority Royall.*
2. *Increase His Revenue.*
3. *Settle a good union in His Majesties owne Kingdomes, and with other reformed Churches.*
4. *Cause a good understanding betweene His Majesty, and His people.*

ACTS 5. 39.

If it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest happily you be found even to fight against God.

S. MATTH. 22. 21.

Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and unto God the things that are Gods.

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Verba Caroli Magni in Capitul. Car. l. 7. c. 104.

Novimus multa regna, & reges eorum propterea cecidisse, quia Ecclesias spoliaverunt, resque earum vastaverunt, alienaverunt, vel diripuerunt, Episcopisque & sacerdotibus atque quod majus est Ecclesiis eorum abstulerunt, & pugnantibus dederunt. Qua propter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide stabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt, sed terga multi vulnerati, & plures interfecti verterunt, regnaque & regiones, & quod pejus est regna cœlestia perdiderunt, atque propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt & hactenus carent.

ERRATA.

PAg. 4. lin. 20. r. *and afterwards in the same booke, it is said*, that a Bishop, &c. p. 7. l. 7. for *co. tit.* 6. 8. *constit.* 6. p. 8. in marg. for 13. *Hen.* 8 r. 31. *Hen.* 8. r. 8. [illegible] p. 35. l. 24. for *of* r. *to*. p. 38. l. 33. for 80. *Eliz.* r. 8 *Eliz.* p. 40. l. 28. for *it is*, r. *and it is*.

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Animadversions

ANIMADVERSIONS UPON THE TITLE.

Pamphlet.

UNparallell'd *reasons for the abolishing of Episcopacie.*

Animadverſ.

Seeing Epiſcopacy hath continued ſince *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles uninterrupted in the whole *Chriſtian World* for theſe fifteene hundred yeares, and ever ſince Chriſtianity was received in the Church of *England*, unto this preſent, no marvell if the reaſons for aboliſhing of it, be *unparallell'd.*

Pamphlet.

1. *It will aſſure His Majeſties authority Royall.*

Animadverſ.

You meane his *Majeſties* Authority *ſignified by the two Houſes of Parliament* (as you uſe to ſpeake) and ſevered from his Perſon, that is, in effect, your owne authority.

Pamphlet.

2. *It will increaſe His Majeſties Revenew.*

Animadverſ.

Animadverſ.

First diſcount the *firſt fruits, tenths, and ſubſidies* ariſing from Biſhopricks, which are a very conſiderable revenue to his *Majeſtie*, and are preſumed to be aboliſht in the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy; then ſatisfy the *coveteouſneſſe of the projectors* of Abolition, which pretend His *Majeſty*, but intend themſelves; then let *Gods juſtice* be ſatisfied for the perjury and ſacrilege they would put the *King and Kingdome* upon by this abolition, which like a Canker will conſume the whole revenew, and then take thy bill and write downe, towards the increaſe of his Maſters revenew by the aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy* o^{l}——o^{s}——o^{d}.

Pamphlet.

3. *It will ſettle a good union in His Majeſties owne Kingdomes, and betweene them and other reformed Churches.*

Animadverſ.

His Majeſties 3 *Kingdomes* flouriſht in a happy union, while *Epiſcopacy* was maintained in them all, and ſince it was ſuppreſſed in one (by what meanes I ſpare to mention,) and the like endeavours have beene uſed to ſuppreſſe it in another, what miſerable diſtractions have hereupon followed in all we now ſee. And therefore whether the beſt way to ſettle a *good Union* againe in all three, be not to continue *Epiſcopacy* where it is, and to reſtore it where it is rejected, let any indifferent man judge. As for other *reformed Churches*, it is not condemned as unlawfull by any (witneſſe the *harmony of confeſſions*) but hath beene retained as in all *Kingdomes* imbraceing the reformation, ſo in the moſt and cheife of all other *Proteſtant* Churches, who are ſtill governed either by *Biſhops*, or (which differ little ſave in name) by *ſuperintendents*, with which thoſe few that have rejected it are not to be ballanced, who yet received the *Presbytery* as more agreable to the civill government, being popular, rather then out of any diſlike of *Epiſcopacy* in it ſelf, as their cheife Members have acknowledged

ed. Now whether an Union with those few that want *Episcopacy*, or with the most and best protestant Churches in *Europe* (besides all other Churches in the Christian World) who still injoy that Government, ought more to be desired, all lovers of peace and Unity, and haters of Schisme and faction will easily determine.

Pamphlet.

4. *It will cause a good understanding betweene His Majesty and his people.*

Animadvers.

Let the World take notice. First, of the Pride of this faction, they are in their owne account *His Majesties only People*, for otherwise it is notoriously knowne, that not the abolishing, but the upholding of *Episcopacy* will maintaine a good understanding betwixt *His Majesty* and the greatest and best part of his people. Let all the world againe take notice what hinders a good understanding betwixt His *Majesty* his People. Not His Majesties *breach of the Lawes*, but his not breaking and abolishing what hath beene so long *established by Law*.

Pamphlet.

By N. F. Esquire.

Animadvers.

Or by *N. M.* the *Atheist*. for if you observe his reasons, they are meerely *politicall*, without any mention or regard had to *religion* and *conscience*.

Reader,

I have made these *strictures* upon the very title, because I find not in the body of his discourse, his two last reasons so much as mentioned, only some broken considerations tending that way, which shall be answered in their due place.

Pamphlet.

The Bishops have and do claime their power as of Divine Right, intitling themselves to their severall dignities by the permission or Grace of God, and their authority accordingly.

Animadvers.

The Bishops claime their power by *Divine Right* for the essentiall parts of it, as the power of *Ordination*, and of *Jurisdiction* in matters meerely spirituall, the use of the *Keys* in binding and loosing, *Ecclesiasticall censures*, and the like. And this claime is as Ancient, as their Institution, and (however questioned now) is plainely acknowledged by this Church and State at the Reformation, as appeares in the Booke of consecrating and ordering Bishops, Preists, and Deacons, (which Booke is confirmed by *Acts* of *Parliament*, still in force, 1°. *Edw.* 6. and 8. *Eliz.* C. 1. and by subscription of all the *Clergy* of *England*, even of those, who are now most opposite to Bishops, and their Divine Right. *It is evident* (saith the Booke) *to all men reading Holy Scriptures, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles times there have beene those three Orders in the Church of Christ; And that a Bishop ought to correct and punish* (which are speciall Acts of Jurisdiction) *such as are unquiet, criminous, and disobedient within his Diocesse, according to such Authority as he hath by the word of God.* Now if a Bishop have his Authority by *the word of God*, and the continuance of his order *from the Apostles times*; as distinct from those of Preists and Deacons, be *evident to all men reading Holy Scripture*, what can be more plaine then that the power is by Divine Right, and that in just claime thereof, this stile may run by *Divine Providence* or *Permission*?

But though this power be justly claimed to be by *Divine Right*, yet it is readily acknowledged, that the exercise of this *power* is from the *King*, so that no *Bishop* can legally exercise his power within the *Kings Dominions* and over his Subjects, but by the Kings Authority; And therefore when this power is reduced into act, it is ordered and regulated in the forme and manner

manner of exercise by *Royall power*, and must run in the Channell of positive lawes, provided they be not repugnant to the Lawes of God. And thus we grant, that not onely the power of a *Bishop*, but also of a *Preist* or *Deacon* (which yet none ever doubted to be of Divine Right) is *quoad exercitium actus* from the *King*, seeing they cannot legally exercise their function within his Dominions, but by His permission; so no prejudice to the *Kings* Authority by the Divine Right of Bishops.

Pamphlet.

Delegating it to others to execute under them, in their own rights, in their Names, and under their Seales.

Animadverf.

That our Bishops *delegate* part of their power to wit of *Jurisdiction* (for the power of *Order* never was nor can be delegated) to be executed in their owne right, in their names, and under their Seales, is no more then what hath alwayes beene practised in this *Kingdome* without interruption, or offence, except onely for a very short time in the reigne of 1 *Edw. 6.* a Minor *King*, In whose reigne it was enacted, That all Ecclesiasticall processes should from thenceforth (before it seemes they never were) be in the *Kings Name* and Stile, and under His *Seale*; which if any shall object now against the Bishops, they may receive satisfaction from the unanimous opinion of all the *Judges* declared to the whole Kingdome by His Majesties Proclamation. *An. D. 1637. That the Statute forementioned stands repealed, and is not in force: and therefore the Bishops might lawfully exercise their ordinary jurisdiction, and hold their visitations without any Commission under the Great Seale, and might issue processe in their own names.*

Besides, I would gladly be informed why it is lawfull for Lords of *Leets*, and *Court Barons*, and others of the Laity, to send processe in their owne names, and under their owne Seales, who notwithstanding acknowledge all their jurisdiction to be from the Crowne; and yet change the persons, and let the same actions be done by a Bishop, and presently it becomes prejudiciall to the Crowne.

Pamph.

Pamphlet.

Terming the Clergy under them their Subjects, and exacting an oath of obedience from them.

Animadverſ.

That the Biſhops terme the Clergy their *Subjects*, can hardly I beleeve be ſhewed in any Canons, or publique Acts ſince the Reformation, yet (ſet aſide the uſe of our Engliſh ſpeech which appropriates the word to *Royall Subjection*) there is a ſubjection due to Biſhops both from Clergy and Laity, eſpecially *in ſpiritualibus*, and that not onely by warrant of the law of the land, but by the Authority, and according to the language of the Law of God. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit or ſubiect your ſelves, for they watch for your ſoules.* For the Oath of *Canoniall obedience*, it is onely to obey the Ordinary *according to Law*, and what is according to Law cannot be ſaid to be exacted; This oath therefore is no more derogatory to the *Kings* Authority, then the oath of a freeman in *London*, or any other corporation, to obey the Lord *Maior*, or the Miniſters and Officers of their Corporation; Even now you would make the Biſhops Kings againſt their wills, and here you will not allow them the freedom of common Subjects.

Heb. 13. 17.

Non dubito quin de paſtoribus loquitur, & reliquis Eccleſiæ gubernatoribus. Calvin. in locum.

Pamphlet.

It is very prejudiciall to Soveraigne power, that ſuch a claime ſhould be ſet up or upheld.

Animadverſ.

In the *Jewiſh policy*, it is confeſt on all hands that both the *Regall*, and the *High Preiſts* power were by *Divine Right*, And yet the wiſedome of God did not thinke the *Divine Right* of the *preiſthood* prejudiciall to the Soveraigne power of the Kings, but that both might well ſtand together, and ſtrengthen one another, as we know they did, the one being ſubordinate for externall Government to the other, And therefore we find that

that the *Kings* of *Iudah* did limit and direct, yea & controll the High Preist in the exercise of his office, and sometimes upon just cause depose him, and yet none of them ever doubted whether the *High Preists* office was by *Divine Right*, or thought to enlarge their owne power by the abolition of the other. The like we finde practised by Christian Emperours, as *Martian, apud Binnium. l. 2. p. 178. Iustinian. Novel. cō[illegible] iuxta finem. Theodosius Junior apud Evagr. l. 1. c. 12. Basil. in concil. Constant. 8. act. 1. apud Bin. to. 3. pag.* 880, *&c.* and also acknowledged by Bishops themselves in sundry councels, as at *Mentz. a.* 814. and *a.* 847. *apud. Bin. to.* 3. *p.* 462. and 631. at *Emerita in Portugal. a* 705. *Binn. to.* 2. *p.* 1183. *&c.* and yet neither the one nor the other doubted of the Divine Right of Bishops.

2. Kings. 23. 3. 4. 1. Chron. 28. 13. 2. Chron. 29. 30. 1. Kings. 25. 26, 27.

How the Bishops power here should be more prejudiciall to the Kings of *England*, I understand not, for our Kings lay no claime to any thing that's essentiall in the Bishops power either of Order or Jurisdiction, They neither may impose hands, administer the Sacraments, nor excommunicate, They have ever disclaimed all such power, as appeares both by the admonition added to the *Queenes Iniunction*, ratified by Act of Parliament, *a°. 5. Eliz.* and sundry Declarations of our late Soveraigne *King James* of famous memory, and *His Maiesty* that now is. The power it's selfe therefore can no wayes be prejudiciall to Soveraignty.

And for the exercise of Episcopall power it is regulated in cheife by the Soveraigne power, and this regulation submitted to by the Bishops, as appeares by the Statute of the *submission of the Clergy*, where the power of making any new *Canons*, (for the exercising of Episcopall power) is restrained and limited to the Kings assent, *without which signified by His writ, the Clergy may not assemble and meet, nor being met may treat of or conclude, nor having concluded, may execute and put in ure any such Canons or Constitutions.* Here's no prejudice yet that appeares to the Soveraigne power. But let's heare your reasons.

25. *Hen.* 8.

Pamphlet,

Pamphlet.

Because it not onely introduceth a right Superiour to all Civil power, so that it neither may be limited nor controlled by it.

Animadverſ.

The Divine Right of Biſhops priviledges Epiſcopacy from being aboliſhed; the civill power may not aboliſh what God hath inſtituted, *leſt happily it be found to fight againſt God*; yet it ſets not the Biſhops above Kings, who are in like manner of *Divine Inſtitution*, and are ſo acknowledged by all thoſe of this Church that maintaine the Divine Right of Biſhops. And Kings are further inſtituted by God to be the *Higher powers*, even above Biſhops themſelves, *in all cauſes and over all perſons as well Eccleſiaſticall as civill Supreame Governours*, not to be limited or controlled by any, but to limit and controll all within their Dominions. And ſo much is acknowledged in the oath of Supremacy by the Biſhops themſelves.

Act. 5.

The Kings Supremacy immediately from God, is acknowledged by Act of Parliament: An. 25. Hen. 8. c. 12. and 28 H. 8. c. 10. and 31. Hen. 8. c. 8. & 7. Sac. c. 6.

So the Superiour, limiting and controlling right is ſtill in the King, notwithſtanding the Divine Right of Biſhops.

I wiſh your *Presbyterian* faction could waſh away the guilt of this imputation as cleare as the Biſhops can. The truth is, You doe not onely claime the power of your *Presbytery* by Divine Right, but you deny the Divine Right of the King, and make him the peoples creature, and his power meerely humane. You allow the King no power to command, or ordaine any thing in the *Church*, but onely a miniſteriall power to execute or confirme what your *Presbytery* ordaines. your Presbyteriall power acknowledges no ſubordination to the Regall, neither in the inſtitution nor exerciſe of it; but challenges *a power paramount over Kings and Princes, to bind them in chaines, and their Nobles with linkes of iron*, ſo one of your fellow Pamphleters; and againe, The *King muſt ſubmit His Scepter to the Scepter of Chriſt, and licke the duſt of the Churches feet; ſo your Pope.* T. C.

Lib. 180.

This charge therefore is juſtly retorted upon your *Presbyterian Aſſembly*, That it introduceth a power Superiour to all Civill

Civill power, so that it neither can be limited nor controlled by it.

Pamphlet.

But also inforceth by consequence the acknowledgement of forraigne power; for the limits of Civill jurisdiction being not of force to set bounds unto Divine Right, a Bishop shall by Divine right have authority within the Dominions of a Prince to whom he is no Subject, in case his Dioceſſe shall extend into the territories of severall Soveraignes; which it may doe as well as the pretended jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome doth.

Animadverſ.

That the *Divine Right of Episcopacy* enforceth by consequence an acknowledgement of *forraigne power* is a very vaine surmise; for who ever affirmed, that the limiting or bounding of Dioceſſes (any more then that of Parishes) was otherwise then by *humane Constitution*? and therefore you might as well inferre, that the office of a *Presbyter* is not by *Divine Right*, because his Parish possibly may extend into severall territories, and the Civill power is not of force to set bounds to Divine Right. The bounds of *Dioceſſes* therefore being set by *Humane constitution* may by the same power upon just grounds be altered, as we see it done in your owne instance, the *pretended jurisdiction* of the *Bishop of Rome*.

Pamphlet.

It may be very dangerous to Soveraigne Power, *and the whole Civill State, that the Clergy should imbody it selfe within it selfe, by which meanes it may be drawne into a faction against it; for being United into a body, it is made able to be a strong faction, and being so, is liable by practise to be drawne against the State.*

Animadverſ.

If this reason were of any weight, it would not only extend to the abolishing of *Episcopacy*, but of the whole body of the

Clergy

Clergy, who muſt ſtill remaine a diſtinct body from the *Laity*, what forme of government ſoever be introduced, and therefore according to this reaſon may be liable by practiſe to be drawne againſt the *ſtate*; and much more doth this extend to the abolition of all *civill corporations*, who are United, and inbodied into the ſtate (to uſe your owne words) and not onely may be, but are (as ſad experience ſhowes) *drawne by practiſe and their owne intereſt in moſt parts of the Kingdome, to foment the preſent Rebellion againſt His Majeſty*, and the whole civill ſtate, as it is eſtabliſhed by Law.

But to let paſſe this uncharitable ſurmiſe againſt the whole body of the *Clergy*, whoſe great Crime in your opinion (would you ſpeake out) is their conſtant Loyalty and fidelity to this *Monarchy* and Civill State, as it is eſtabliſhed, I ſpeak on the behalfe of the *conformable Clergy* whom you would aboliſh: as for the *Schiſmaticall part* who are neither conformable to the Doctrine nor government of the Church of *England*, the Church acknowledges them not her owne, no reaſon therefore why ſhe ſhould be charged with their moſt Diſloyall and Rebellious practiſes. Anſwer you for it as you can. To let this paſſe therefore, for this ſurmiſe againſt the Body of the *Clergy* is not only uncharitable, but altogether groundleſſe, and without ſhadow of reaſon, for conſidering the *conſtitution* of this Church and Kingdome, the *dependance* and *ſubordination* both of the Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy under the King, ſince the Reformation, the tie of Solemne Oathes upon them of *Allegeance and Supremacy*, the ſtrictneſſe of the lawes againſt them even to the loſſe of all upon the leaſt exorbitance, eſpecially if they looke towards forraigne power; upon theſe and ſuch like conſiderations, there is not the leaſt cauſe now of any ſuch feare of their practiſeing againſt the State, as was wiſely obſerved by that great States-man the Earle of *Salisbury*.

Anſwer to ſcandalous papers.

Neither are the *Clergy* a body wholly abſtracted or divided from the reſt of the Kingdome, but as they are a part of the publicke, ſo they have their intereſts and relations to the Commonwealth. They have ſome temporall eſtates and poſſeſſions, and are moſt of them Sons of Lay-men, and by marriages and other

other Ingagements are so mingled with the *Laity*, that their fortunes saile all in one bottome, and if the Ship should miscarry must be exposed to the same common danger, small reason then to feare their practising against the Sate.

Pamphlet.

The more united this body is, and the greater dependance it hath by subordinate Officers upon some one or few heads, the more dangerous it is, because more exposed to parties, and more capable to act or to be acted, and to put any thing into execution speedily, secretly, and unanimously.

Animadvers.

The example of the *Jewish Preisthood* (were there no other instance) manifestly shewes the weakenesse of this reason; In the *Synagogue*, the body of their inferiour *Preists* were more in subjection to their *High Preists*, then our *English Clergy* are to any *Bishop* or *Archbishop*, and they were more firmely united in a body then any Clergy of the World besides, for they were all of one *Tribe*, and had 48 Cities with their Suburbs allotted them, so that neither by marriages, nor exchange of possessions they could be mingled with the other *Tribes*, yet wee never find that they proved dangerous to the Jewish state, or practised against their Kings, but were generally examples of loyalty and obedience to all the people.

The same may be observed of the *loyalty and fidelity* of the *Clergy* of this land since the Reformation, and the more for this Union & subordinate dependance, which you so quarrell at. The truth is, the more firmely the Clergy are united amongst themselves and under the Bishops, and all of them under their *Soveraigne*, as they are now since the Reformation, the more improbable it is, if not impossible, they should be drawne to practise against him. But on the contrary, whilest this Union continues, they are rendred more able by it to prevent or suppresse faction in the *Church*, and by consequent in the *State*, and *De facto*, there is nothing more cleere and evident, then that this subordination of the *Clergy* to their *Bishops*, and of the

Bishops to the King, hath ever since the *Reformation* beene a speciall meanes to conteine both *Clergy* and *Laity* in due obedience, to the joynt happinesse of King and people: upon the interruption of which blessed union and subordination, through the malice and practise of your faction we now see, (I wish we had beleeved them that fore-saw it) what an inundation of misery hath overflowed and endangered the drowning of the whole State.

Pamphlet.

By meanes of this Corporation of the Clergy with their dependance upon a few Bishops, and of them upon one Archbishop, the Pope ruling the whole body of the Clergy within this Kingdom at his pleasure, raised constantly a potent faction against the Kings of this Realme.

Animadvers.

That the *Popes* have heretofore troubled the Kings of this Realme, and usurped upon their *Royall power*, and the more becaule of the Union of the *Clergy* with, and dependance upon that forraigne head, is evident. But that forreigne influence being now wholly stopt, and the *Clergy* of this Realme more firmely united to the King, then ever they were to the *Pope*, this Argument makes nothing at all against the present *Clergy*, but rather concludes most strongly for their loyalty and obedience; for if the *Pope* by reason of that union was able to rule and sway the *Clergy* of those times; much more may the *King* (to whom they are now more firmely united) rule and keepe the present Clergy in obedience, and rest secure from any practises by their meanes against him.

But, Good *Sir*, what makes you and your party so carefull of suppressing factions against the *King?* or are your designes in good earnest to strengthen the *Kings Authority*, by imploying it against the Body of the *Clergy?* nothing lesse. King JAMES who had good reason to know you, layes open the grosse hypocrisie of these pretensions; and your practices since, have made a cleare and full *comment* upon that *Text*. The passage is

Hist. of the conference at Hampton *Court. p.* 81, 82. *An.* 1603.

is very remarkeable, I will therefore rehearse it at large, as it is there related.

In the conference at *Hampton* Court, The Kings Supremacy having beene twice mentioned by Doctor *Reynolds*, the *King* asked him, if he knew any there or elsewhere, who liked of the present Government Ecclesiasticall, that disliked his Supremacy. Doctor *Reynolds* said, no; Why then, said His Majesty, I will tell you a tale, *After the Religion restored by King* Edward *6. was soone overthrowne by the succession of Queene* Mary *here in* England, *we in* Scotland *felt the effects of it; whereupon Master* Knox *writes to the Queene Regent (of whom without flattery I may say, She was a vertuous and moderate Lady) telling her that She was supreame head of the Church, and charged Her, as She would answer it before Gods Tribunall, to take care of Christ his Evangell, and of suppressing the Popish Prelates, who withstood the same. But how long, trow yee, did this continue? even so long till by His authority the Popish Bishops were suppressed, he himselfe and his adherents were brought in and well setled, and by these meanes made strong enough to undertake the matters of reformation themselves; Then to they began to make small account of Her supremacy, nor would longer rest upon her Authority, but tooke the cause into their owne hand, and according to that further light wherewith they were illuminated, they made a further Reformation of Religion; How they used that poore Lady my Mother is not unknowne, and with greife I may remember it, who because She had not beene otherwise instructed, did desire onely a private Chappell, wherein to serve God after her manner, with some few selected persons; But her Supremacy was not enough to obtaine it at their hands. And how they dealt with mee in my Minority, You all know; it was not done secretly; and though I would, I cannot conceale it: I will apply it thus, and then (putting his hand to his hat) His Majesty said, My Lords, the Bishops, I may thanke you, that these men dothus plead for my Supremacy, they thinke they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing to it, as if you or some that adhere unto you, were not well affected towards it; But if once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my Supre-*

(17.)

macy, No Bishop, No King. Thus that wise and learned *King*. Away then with this maske of hypocrisie: What your affection is to the *Kings Authority*, you have of late made appeare to all the world, pretend not the *King* any longer to the destruction of Gods inheritance against the manifest truth, and the very evidence of your owne consciences, which cannot but tell you, that you charge the whole body of the *Clergy*, not out of any feare you have of their practising against the King, but out of your feare of their strengthening the King too much, to the suppressing of your faction, who otherwise will suppresse both *King & Church* & if once you can root out this united Body of the *Clergy*, the *King* shall quickly understand from you what good freinds you are to his *Supreame Authority*: for shame therefore either be what you should be, good and faithfull Subjects, or appeare as you are.

Pamphlet.

Since the Reformation though the Bishops have beene knocked off from the Pope, yet were they never jointed into the King, and his Authority, to derive and exercise power under Him; but remaine in all things as before, and so are ready upon any occasion to be coupled againe to their old head, or to any other which they shall make amongst themselves, when time shall serve; And the time will serve for such a purpose, when by His Majesties power they shall have totally suppressed the party opposite unto them, whereof they stand in feare, for they will then reduce the Clergy unto an absolute blind obedience, unto them againe, and by them the people, and by both the Prince, as formerly they have done.

Animadvers.

The *Bishops* here were not knocked off from the *Pope*, it was done in an orderly *Reformation*, by Royal Authority, which by the Law of God and the land hath power to cut off all forraign & usurped jurisdiction; But this homely phrase will well become the manner of your disorderly Reformations, which use to be made by knocks and Tumults. But to let your lan-

gua ge

guage paſſe, and to come to your matter, That the *Biſhops* ſince the Reformation were never jointed into the *King*, but remaine in all things as before, is ſo ſhameleſſe an untruth, and ſo fully confuted by what is already ſayd, as I ſhall not need to adde any thing by way of anſwer, either to that, or any of the inferences which you make upon it.

But if you meane, that the *Biſhops* cannot be jointed into the *King*, by deriving the exerciſe of their power from him, unleſſe the power it ſelfe in matters meerely ſpirituall, be alſo from the *King*, this were to aſcribe more to the King, then the moderate ſort of *Papiſts* doe aſcribe to the *Pope* himſelfe; For though the moderne *Jeſuits* hold that *Biſhops* have their power of *Juriſdiction*, at leaſt *in foro exteriori*, from the *Pope*, and not immediately from Chriſt, as we may ſee in *Bellarmine* (a), yet the *Schoolemen* we regenerally of another opinion, as we ſee in *Franciſ. à Victor.* (b) *Caſtro.* (c) and ſundry others. The ſame was determined in the *Councell of Conſtance*, and is conſtantly maintained by the *Sorboniſts* to this day, and in all probability had beene confirmed in the Councell of *Trent* by the Biſhops there, had not the *Popes Legates* uſed all poſſible art and induſtry to keepe that queſtion from being propounded.

(a) *L. 4. de Pont. Rom. cap. 22.*
(b) *Releſt. de poteſt. Eccles. q. 2.*
(c) *Lib. 2. c. 24.*

But let mee returne your owne weapons, and paſſe this charge againſt the Biſhops upon your owne faction in your owne words, but a little varied, and let's ſee how you can defend your ſelves. Since the Reformation your *Presbyterian* power hath beene kept under by the State, yet profeſſing (as you do) that your Eccleſiaſticall power is neither derived from, nor to be exerciſed by the Kings *Authority*; but on the contrary His *Royall Authority* muſt be ſubordinate to that: you have remained in heart as loyall Subjects as before, and you have beene ready upon all occaſions to couple your ſelves with others of your owne faction, and to make a head amongſt your ſelves to riſe in rebellion when time ſhould ſerve, and this time ſerves now for ſuch a purpoſe, when pretending the *Kings Authority* againſt himſelfe, you have raiſed forces over all the land; and when by theſe meanes you ſhall have totally ſuppreſſed the Biſhops, and the obedient loyall *Clergy*, of whom you ſtand

stand in feare, and so reduced both Clergy and Laity with more then papall Tyranny into a blind obedience, and by both having the *King* wholly in your power; He is like to finde the fruits of your doctrine, which teacheth, *That Kings are but the peoples Attorneys, and that they may recall their power, as men doe their letters of Attorney and Proxy*: which loyall doctrine your Teachers have learned no doubt of their Brethren the *Jesuits*, and some other Romanists, who *as they place all soveraign power originally in the people, so they hold, they cannot so divest themselves of it, but that they still reserve the same habitually in themselves, and may in some cases resume, and exercise the same*; But God I hope will ever keepe this Church and Kingdome from the prevailing of either faction.

Goodman of obedience p. 25.

Soto de justitia & jure l. 4. q. 4. art. 1. Bellarm. in recognit.

Pamphlet.

Such a faction cannot be safe for the King, for if they be used against him, they are as dangerous as they are potent; and if they be used by him it is worse, by reason it will continually keepe up great jealousies and misunderstandings betwixt Him and his people.

Animadvers.

The least faction in a State is ever dangerous, because in time it may prove potent: but to call the Bishops and conformable Clergy so long established by the Lawes of the Land, and moving in their severall orbes according to those Lawes, and so acknowledged by *His Majesty, almost all the Nobility, Gentry, and best of the Commons*, to call such an *Estate* a faction is an act of insolent malice. And such an *Estate* so fixed by the Lawes, and in such dependancie upon His Majesty, as hath beene shewed, the more potent it is, the more safe for the King, the more dangerous onely to the enemies of his Crowne and Dignity; as constant experience hath assured the Kingdome.

As for your jealousies and misunderstandings, because they are of your owne fancying and fomenting, without ground, without end, against a body so established, they declare your selves plainly to be the faction in this Kingdome; And therefore

fore I ſhall make bold to read your owne charge againſt your ſelves, and let the indifferent Reader judge how well it fits you. *Such a faction as yours cannot be ſafe for the King, for if they be uſed againſt him, they are as dangerous againſt Kings as they are Potent with the ſimple People, and if they be uſed by him, it is worſe, by reaſon that they themſelves will continually keepe up great jealouſies and miſunderſtandings betwixt the King and his People, that upon this foundation they may raiſe themſelves a Throne, and in effect governe both King and People as they pleaſe.*

Pamphlet.

Beſides to make the Prince, which ſhould be the head of the whole, to be head of a faction, is a diminution tending to deſtruction, the next ſtep below it tending to make him head of nothing, in caſe the party whereon he doth relye, either faile him or betray him. And that faction, that one while may ſeeme to ſerve his turne, another while upon the turne of times, and change of circumſtances, may be uſed as powerfully againſt him.

Animadverſ.

For the *King* who is head of the whole to make himſelfe or to be made the head of a faction is with all caution to be avoyded. and the learned Sir *Francis Bacon* gives the reaſon in *his Eſſay of faction*: for Leagues or parties within the State are ever pernicious to *Monarchies*, becauſe they raiſe an obligation *paramount* to obligation of *Soveraignety*, and make the *King Tanquam unus ex nobis*, as one of us; or, in the reaſon of your owne language 'tis out of all queſtion a diminution tending to deſtruction for the King to become the head of a faction, and the very next ſtep to make him head of nothing. But for the *King* to adhere to the farre greater and more conſiderable part of his *Kingdome*, for Honour, Power, Wiſdome, and integrity, for the King according to his Solemne Oath, and the knowne lawes of the Land to protect thoſe who hazard their lives and fortunes to uphold his juſt and legall Authority, a-

gainſt thoſe, who contrary to the lawes both of God and Man, and againſt their ſeverall Oathes have taken up Armes againſt him, and that for no other end but to force him to alter the whole frame of government ſo long eſtabliſhed; this is not to make himſelfe the head of a faction, but to preſerve himſelfe, and his Kingdome from a wicked faction, who would indeed make him a head of nothing; who if they ſhould prevaile (ſo falſe and treacherous have they beene, that no King as yet ever durſt rely upon them) he muſt expect no other meaſure then our late *Soveraigne* in his minority, and his Mother before him found at their hands in *Scotland*, with the overplus of the continuance and growth of a reſtleſſe and implacable malice, which after ſo many acts of *Grace* and *Favour* to ſuch *graceleſſe* and *ungratefull Perſons*, His *Majeſtie* and his whole Kingdome now finds and feeles to their great greife and trouble.

Pamphlet.

The two oppoſite parties, the Biſhops and thoſe that are againſt them are now ſo exaſperated, and pointed one againſt the other, that either the one or the other muſt fall, and be ſuppreſſed.

Animadverſ.

Let the World take notice firſt of the moſt *Unchriſtian* and *Irreligious* practiſes of theſe great pretenders to Religion, firſt they exaſperate the Biſhops by ſuch violent oppreſſions as were never practiſed yet by *Chriſtians* or *Pagans*; and then in way of ſatisfaction, they make that exaſperation an argument for their extirpation and utter aboliſhment. Are theſe the wayes that Chriſt taught his Diſciples, or can theſe be the fruits of the *Holy Spirit*. *Be not deceived, you may bewitch ſilly People, but you cannot mocke God, your judgement ſleepeth not.*

But let's examine your State-maxime, we ſhall finde it ill applyed, at leaſt to the Biſhops; the ſuppreſſion would become your faction well, and you have bid very faire for it.

When any faction in the Church or Rebellion in the State is raiſed, it's neceſſary that the one party or other muſt fall, at leaſt their oppoſition, for a *Kingdome* or *Church* divided cannot

not ſtand; but that the Governours ſhould be ſacrificed to the fury of Rebells, becauſe both parties are exaſperated, is againſt all rules of *Religion*, and policy. For Religion, it is much like the *High Preiſts Religion* concerning the ſuppreſſing of *Chriſt*, It is expedient (ſaith he) that one ſhould ſuffer, rather then the whole Nation ſhould periſh. This is Jewiſh religion indeed. S. Mat. 27.

And the policy is not much better, for by ſuppreſſing the innocent, we muſt yeild to the Rebellious; and the giving way to one Rebellion, ever ſowes the ſeed of a new one.

Beſides, ſhould this argument hold good, it would outdo that helliſh *Powder Treaſon*, not only blow up the Biſhops, but the King, Nobles, Gentry, and Commons, for the greateſt and beſt part throughout the whole land; who have all of them in ſo high and tranſcendent a manner beene provoked and exaſperated by your faction, that it is no mervaile though your guilty conſciences prompt you to the extirpation of all thoſe by degrees, whom you have ſo highly offended; But your deſigne is firſt to ſuppreſſe the Biſhops, therefore you alleadge farther.

Pamphlet.

If the Biſhops ſupported by His Majeſty ſhall prevaile, and ſuppreſſe totally the other party, His Majeſty will be wholly in their hands againe, as his predeceſſours have beene; for they will be able to rule absolutely the Clergy, and the people, and then it is not their uſe to be ruled by their Prince.

Animadverſ.

The paſſage is miſprinted in your Copy, I will ſhew you, if you pleaſe, how you ſhould reade it. *If the Biſhops ſupported by His Majeſty under God, and the Loyall Nobility, Gentry and Commons of the Land, ſhall prevaile, and ſuppreſſe totally the oppoſition of the other party, His Majeſty will be wholly in His Throne againe, as his predeceſſours have beene; for the Biſhops will be the better able to teach both Clergy and Laity their obedience, by ſetting before them the freſh miſcheifes and miſeries of*

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your Rebellious faction, And for themselves, it hath ever beene their use since the Reformation to be ruled by their Prince. It is the Honour of their Order, and the Reformation, disprove it if you can.

But is it possible, that you and your party should have the face to charge the Bishops with a custome of not being ruled by their Prince? Your selves in the meane while being the most unruly and rebellious faction against your Prince, that ever the Sun saw; witnesse those *unparalleled* principles of rebellion and Treason, delivered by the Fathers of your Religion.

That if Kings and Princes refuse to reforme Religion (and in your way) the inferiour Magistrates, or the people by direction of the Ministers, may lawfully, and ought, if need require, even by force of Armes to reforme it themselves.

Preface to *Goodmans* book of obedience: Call you this obedience?

That if Princes be Tyrants against God and his truth, their Subjects are free from their oathes of obedience.

Knox hist. p. 78.

That the people may arraigne their Prince.

Ibid. p. 62.

That Princes for just causes may be deposed.

Ib. p. 371.

That the people have right to bestow the Crowne at pleasure.

Ib. p. 13.

That they have the same power over the King, that the King hath over any one person.

Ib. pag. 58.

That it were good that rewards were appointed by the people, for such as should kill Tyrants, as there is for those that have killed wolves or beares, or have taken their whelpes.

Ib. pag. 40.

Ib. pag. 70.

That the Prince may be excommunicated.

T. C. reply part 2. pag. 65.

That he that by excommunication is cast into hell, is not worthy to enjoy any life upon earth.

Ib. pag. 70.

That it is the duty of the Nobility to represse the rage and insolency of Princes.

Knox *appell.* f. 33. &c.

That Noble men, inferiour Magistrates, and rather then faile, the people were bound before God to reforme Religion, whether the Queene (speaking of Queene Mary*) would, or no, yea though it were by putting her to death, yea they ought to have put her to death as a Monster, Tyrant, Cruell beast.*

Goodman of obedience p. 90. 203. 113.

Neither doe your Moderne Teachers and Pamphleters come any whit short of these horrid positions of their Fathers. I report mee to the Pamphleters of the present times, whether they

they doe or not. Or if in any of these particulars, they thinke it not time as yet to speake out to the world, I am sure their Disciples have practised them, all at the height, But Blessed be Gods mercy, hitherto without effect?

How the *Genius* of your faction inclines you to *rebellion*, none had greater experience then our late *Salomon*. I will therefore set downe a passage in his *Basilicon Doron* to this purpose, worthy to be imprinted in the deepest thought of His Majesty, and all his loyall people; Having shewed how your faction used him both in his minority, and after, whilest he was in *Scotland*, and how they laboured to bring in *Democracy* into the Kingdome, as well as into the Church, he concludes with these words. *Take heed therefore (my Sonne) of such Puritanes, very pests in Church and Common-wealth, whom no deserts can oblige, neither Oathes nor Promises bind, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their owne imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for mee to ly in, that you shall never find in any High-land, or Borderer theeves greater ingratitude, and more lyes, and vile perjuries, then with these phanaticall spirits; and suffer them not to brooke your land, if you like to sit at rest, except you would keepe them for trying your patience, as* Socrates *did an evill wife.* You see how apt your party is to be ruled by your Prince, and yet you of all others must needs accuse the Bishops of unrulinesse, *Quis tulerit Gracchos! &c.* Pag. 160. 161.

Pamphlet.

If the other side prevaile against the Bishops, as possibly they may having to deale with a party long since rejected by other Reformed Churches.

Animadverf.

I am glad to meet with this clause here (though by the By) concerning the rejecting of Episcopacy by other *Reformed* Churches; for though it be one of your Unparallel'd Reasons

(25.)

in the frontispeice of your discourse, yet you never reguard it afterwards to make it good, onely here you mention it againe and that but barely and by the way. Shall I tell you what I conceave may be the reason of this your Omission? and it is most worthy to be taken notice of by all that are well affected to the *Monarchicall* Governement of this State.

Note this. You cannot be ignorant, that in all Reformed Churches abroad, where *Monarchy* is established in the State, *Episcopacy* hath beene retained in the Church, as in *Denmarke* and *Sweden*, besides the territories of the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*, who have rejected the name of *Bishops* onely, not the thing or office, their superintendents differing not from Bishops in power, but onely in name; And so it was in *Scotland* also at the first, and in the *Palatinate*. As for other *Reformed Churches* that have rejected *Episcopacy*, the cheife of them are *Republiques*, and some of them none of the best freinds to *Monarchy*, to say no more.

Let the world take notice where you have a minde to be complying, and to what you have a great longing to reduce this State, even to comport onely with the *Republicks* that have abolished *Episcopacy*; But I hope those whom it most concernes do see how necessary it is for a *Monarchy* to comply cheifely with the Reformation of other *Monarches*, as they desire to uphold the happy Governement of this Kingdome, under which, by the blessing of God, it hath so long flourished.

As for that singular and fresh example of rejecting *Episcopacy* in the *Monarchy* of *Scotland*, it is but reason that we see a little experience of it there, how it will strengthen and support the *Royall Authority*, before we follow the example of it here in this Kingdome; for from King *James* his report of the effects of your *Presbyteries* in His time, we have no great encouragement to confide, without farther tryall.

Pamphlet.

And lately so blasted in both the Kingdomes of England and Scotland.

Animad.

(26.)

Animadverſ.

You have found out a very proper *Metaphor* for the bitter calumnies of ſlanderous Tongues, they are of a blaſting nature; But the Biſhops defence againſt them is; That the Diſciple is not above His Maſter, nor the ſervant above his *Lord*; whileſt our *Bleſſed Saviour* was upon earth he was blaſted by the malicious *Jewes* for a Wine-bibber, a Glutton, a freind of *Publicans and Sinners*. And it is no ſtrange thing for the Miniſters of *Chriſt* in all ages to take up his Croſſe, and to be blaſted with their Saviour.

But, I pray you, for which of their good works do you blaſt the Biſhops? for, whatever ill opinion you and your party conceive, and ſeeke to breed in others, of the *Reverend Biſhops* of this land, it becomes good Chriſtians and true hearted *Engliſh-men*, with thankefull hearts to remember and acknowledge, That there are few things of conſequence for the promoting of the welfare and happineſſe of the Church and Kingdome, wherein the Biſhops under God have not beene the eſpeciall Inſtruments. The lawes of this land, by meanes whereof this Kingdome hath long enjoyed a happy and quiet government, we owe them in a great meaſure to the adviſe, and Counſell of *Biſhops*. *Ina* King of the *Weſt Saxons* in the preface to his Lawes ſayes, they were made by the perſwaſion and adviſe of *Hedda* and *Erkenwald his Biſhops*. *Athelſtan* by the wiſe counſell of *Vlfhelme the Arch-Biſhop*, and other Biſhops; King *Edmond* by the Counſell of *Oda*, and *Wulſtan* his Arch-Biſhop, and divers others his Biſhops. The Lawes of Saint *Edward* gathered out of the former into a body, the ſumme whereof we find in *King Johns Charter*, recited in *Matt. Pariſ.* which with ſome alterations we now enjoy by the name of *Magna Charta* confirmed by *Hen.* 3. were by the counſell and adviſe of *Biſhops*, as we may read in *Lamberts Archaionomia*. To go no farther downeward in this Argument to matters ordinarily knowne, The union of the Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, the two roſes, whereby the laſt civill wars (to ſpeake of) in this Kingdome were brought to an happy end,

was

was by the wise advise and counsell of Bishop *Morton*. The effecting of that marriage with *Scotland* in the time of King *Hen.* 7. whereupon followed the union of the two Kingdoms, was by *Bishop Fox*. Above and beyond all these, that Blessing of Blessings, the conversion of this land to Christianity was under the free grace of God by the ministery of Bishops: The foundation of many of the cheife *Churches* and *Colledges* in the land we owe to the piety of the Bishops and their plentifull revenues: as we doe the reparation and augmentation of divers of them, to the present Bishops. The cheife instruments of the Reformation in the land were Bishops, who also watred what they had planted, & that with their own bloud, as *Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Ferrar, Hooper*. The cheife propugners of the *Reformation* against the *Church of Rome*, have been *Bishops* by their learned writings, orderly worship of God, and administration of Discipline as neere as might be to the first and best times of Christianity; And that which you cheifely blast them for, but surely is not the least among the good offices done by them to this Church, is the upholding of the Doctrine and Discipline established against the power and practices of your faction who would long ere this have reduced this Church to the miserable confusion wherein it now is, I need say no worse.

Sir, however you are pleased to blast this Holy Order so blessed by God, so blessing this whole land, yet every knowing and conscientious man of this Kingdome, that feares not himselfe to be blasted with the great sin of ingratitude against God for such treasures of blessings, conveyed unto him by their meanes, is very sensible of the great obligation he hath to honour them, and cheifely to Honour God for them, and humbly to desire of God the continuance of them.

Pamphlet.

Then will His Majesty run the hazard that they doe which support a tottering wall.

Animadverf.

You might with as good a heart, and as good manners have told

told him in plaine Engliſh, that you will pull downe the Biſhops if you can, though you hazard His Majeſty with the fall: But through the mercy of the moſt High he ſhall not need to feare your malice, for ſeeing he builds upon that firme foundation of *Law and Juſtice*, by which the Biſhops are eſtabliſhed: *thoſe lawes by which he ſupports his Subjects no doubt by Gods goodnes*, (as himſelfe expreſt, when he was at his loweſt ebbe, and hath ſince found it true) *will ever ſupport him*, and this tottering wall.

You have this great Stateſmans firſt reaſon for the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, and his urging of it. I leave it to the Readers cenſure whether the animadverſions have not made this unparralleld reaſon appeare to be that Paradox, the contrary whereof is true, *viz.* That the upholding (not the aboliſhing) of Epiſcopacy will aſſure His Majeſties Royall authority.

Pamphlet.

It will increaſe His Majeſties Revenues; The Temporalties of the Biſhops being in this Bill granted to the King, there will be an Augmentation of His Revenues, by the conſtant rent of them And beſides by fines upon leaſes, and otherwiſe there will be opportunities and meanes for His Majeſtie to gratifie His ſervants, that will be now diſappointed of Monopolies and projects.

Animadverſ.

The like motion for the *Temporalities* of the Church was formerly made in a *Parliament* at *Coventry* in the time of *Hen:* 4. which thereupon got the name of *Lack-learning Parliament*, as our *Chronicles* tell us; wherein one Sir *John Cheyney*, (though ſometimes a *Deacon* profeſt) was a forward Speaker, the Kings profit was then pretended as now, but the contrary was made ſo apparent by *Thomas Arundell Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury*, that the Authors of that project were aſhamed, and the King ſo ſcorned the motion, that He profeſſed, He would leave the Church in a better condition then he found it, rather then a worſe. And I doubt not but Our *Gracious Sove-*

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raigne from his ſoule abhors the thought of ſo foule an Act, as to oppreſſe and ruine thoſe whom he hath allwayes found moſt true and faithfull to His Crowne; which would expoſe Him, and his, to thoſe many *Anathemaes* and *Execrations* mentioned in the *Wills* and *Charters* of the Donors, not onely to the Conſumption of the reſt of his revenues, but to the laying of an everlaſting blot of infamy upon his ſtory throughout all ſucceeding ages, never to be wiped out.

Or if your diſcent from that *Lack-learning Parliament* doth not pleaſe you, I will doe you but right, and fetch your pedigree yet higher; You know who it was that aſked the queſtion, *Ad quid perditio hæc?* to what end is this waſt? When the box of oyntment was powred upon our *Saviour*; and what he pretended; to wit, *the poore*, as you now doe the *King*. *But*, ſaith the Text, *he cared not for the poore, but was a theife, and*
St. Joh. 17. *bore the bagge*; And it is farther by ſome obſerved; That he that complained then *de perditione* is ſtiled in the Goſpell *filius perditionis*, the ſon of deſtruction, and became at length *filius proditionis*, a Traitour to his Lord and Maſter; I will not apply, but I could heartily wiſh the Iſcariots of your party, who are ſo greedy after Church Revenues, would take into their conſideration a religious Speech of an able Speaker in the *Houſe of Commons* at a *Committee* ſome yeares agoe (Maſter *Pym* being then in the Chaire) *Beleeve it Maſter* Pym, *he that thinks to ſave any thing by his religion, but his ſoule, will be a terrible looſer in the end: for what ſhall it profit a man to gaine the whole world, and looſe his owne ſoule?*

But what if the King according to your project ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Church revenues, would he be ever the richer? Do we not find in all hiſtories *Sacred*, and *Prophane*, moſt remarkeable examples of *Divine vengeance*, which hath ever accompanyed ſuch practiſes; and that the prey thus gotten, hath proved like the coale which the *Eagle* ſnatched from the *Altar*, or like garments infected with the Plague? To inſtance in *Hen.* 8. an example beyond all examples in this kind. How was that *King* enrich'r by that vaſt acceſſion of Church revenues

nues upon the dissolution of Religious houses, and seizing upon other Church-lands? It appeares upon record by a computation of particulars, *That besides other summes of many hundred thousand pounds raised upon the personall estates of those houses, and from the whole Clergy upon a præmunire, besides all this, the main lands of the religious houses yeilded eight score thousand pounds per annum of old Rents, which was more by farre, then all the revenue of the Crowne land besides, and much more then all the remainder of the yearely revenew of the whole Clergy of England, and if we looke at the improvement of rents, since that time, it was as much, or more, then a million per annum now.* One would have thought here had beene treasure enough to have enriched the Crowne for ever, and that the *Exchequer* would never have beene drawne dry, nor the *King* have needed to charge his Subjects any more with subsidies, or other taxes; which plausible pretences were used at that time, to make the Act more easily passe. But what became of all this infinite masse of wealth in the conclusion? Through the just (I need not say the secret) judgement of God it came to passe, that the *Exchequer* instantly grew emptier then before, the King in greater wants then ever, insomuch that the very next yeare to his seazing upon the greatest of the religious houses, he was forced through the extremity of poverty *to imbase the coyne, to coyne brasse money, leather coyne, the basest of coyne,* (O the wonders of Divine justice) and the poore seduced people were more oppressed and impoverished with new taxes & charges, then they had beene in the raigne of any PRINCE, either before or since.

V.d. Speeds Chronicle.

Stowes Chronicle, B. Godwins Hen. 8.

Is not here a faire encouragement (trow ye) for the King to go about the enriching of Himselfe and his servants with the Bishops revenues? Yet let me tell you farther for the advancing of your goodly project in disparity to the times of *Hen.* 8. The Bishops now to be abolished in your desires and designes are bottomed upon a firmer and better foundation then the *Abbots and Fryars* of those times, and therefore you must expect a greater curse from God, if you go about to cast them downe. Besides the revenue of the Bishops and their

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Cathedrals now which you would put in the Kings purſe, is not conſiderable in compariſon of the vaſt revenue of thoſe *Religious Houſes*, accounting what is in the Churches (not the Tenants) hands, as is eaſie to be demonſtrated. And why you ſhould promiſe the King better ſucceſſe upon worſe grounds and weaker probabilities, then *Hen.* 8. had; let the indifferent reader judge.

But ſuppoſe you intended (good ſooth) to increaſe the Kings revenue by this project, and were able to make it good; yet how will you be able to ſatisfy the *Kings conſcience*, that He may be able to do it? Yes you tell us:

Pamphlet.

And that His Majeſty may take theſe lands thus given, without ſcruple, is cleare by theſe conſiderations following.

Animadverſ.

I do not find in the conſiderations following any thing conſiderable for the removing of this ſcruple out of the *Kings conſcience*. I find nothing but ſlanders and impertinencies, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to examine the particulars. In the meane while I ſhall take the boldneſſe to put this ſcruple home, why the *King in conſcience* as I conceive cannot take away the lands, much leſſe the *Order* of *Epiſcopacy*, I will make uſe onely of one ground; and that is the Solemne Oath that His Majeſty takes at His *Coronation*; which as it remaines upon record in the *Exchequer*, runs thus.

The Sermon being done, the Archbiſhop goeth to the King, and aſkes His willingneſſe to take the Oath uſually taken by His Predeceſſours. The King ſheweth himſelfe willing, ariſeth, and goeth to the Altear. The Archbiſhop adminiſtreth theſe queſtions, and the King anſwers them ſeverally.

Epiſcopus.

Sir, will you grant, and keepe, and by your Oath confirme to all the people of England the lawes and cuſtomes to them granted by the Kings of England your lawfull, and religious Predeceſſors,

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cessors, and namely the lawes, customes, and franchises granted to the Clergy by the glorious King S. Edward your Predecessor, according to the lawes of God, the true profession of the Gospell established in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative thereof, and the ancient customes of this Realme?

Rex

I grant, and promise to keepe them.

Episcopus.

Sir, will you keepe peace, and godly agreement intirely (according to your power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the people?

Rex

I will keepe it.

Episcopus

Sir, will you to your power, cause law, justice, and discretion, mercy and truth to be executed?

Rex

I will.

Episcopus

Will you grant to keepe the lawes, and rightfull customes which the communalty of this your Kingdome have, and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lyeth?

Rex

I grant and promise so to do.

Then one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the King before the people with a loud voyce.

Our Lord the King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge, all canonicall priviledges, and due law, and justice, and

that you would protect and defend us, & every good King in his Kingdome ought to be protector, and defender of his Bishops, and the Churches under their government.

The King answereth

With a willing and devout heart I promise, and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintaine to you and the Churches committed to your charge all canonicall priviledges and due law and justice, and that I will be your protector and defender to my power by the assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdome in right ought to protect, and defend the Bishops, and Churches under their Government.

Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Communion Table, where he makes a solemne Oath in the sight of all the people to observe the premises, and laying his hand upon the Booke, sayeth,

The Oath.

The things which I have before promised, I shall performe and keepe, so helpe me God, and the contents of this booke.

By this Oath it appeares to mee, the King binds himselfe to protect and defend his Bishops, and all their lawfull rights and priviledges, both in generall words, which include them with the rest of the Kingdome, and after in speciall, as fully as can be expressed; By the lawes of Saint *Edward* are meant cheifely those included in *Magna Charta*, the very first whereof is, *That the Church of* England *shall enjoy all her rights, liberties, customes and priviledges, &c.* And as if this were not yet enough, the King sweares in speciall to the *Clergy, to protect his Bishops as every good King ought to do, and to preserve to them all Canonicall priviledges with due law, and justice, &c.*

Now unlesse you can by your Art prove eradication and abolishing of Episcopacy, and alienation of their Revenue, to be a protecting and preserving of the Bishops with their rights and priviledges, a cunning *Sophister* may happily find out some colourable evasions to delude the mind, but a religious heart can never find any solidity of reason, whereby to satisfie the Kings conscience in this particular.

If

If it be ſaid, That the *King* in *Parliament* alters many of the lawes and cuſtomes, which He ſweares to maintaine, and yet is not guilty of the Breach of his Oath, and therefore by the ſame reaſon may alter *Epiſcopacy*; The anſwer is eaſy, He may doe the former without Breach of his Oath, becauſe all the parties intereſſed in thoſe Lawes give their conſent to alter them by their *repreſentatives* in *Parliament*, and ſo by releaſing their Intereſt in the Kings promiſe, His Oath being promiſſory ceaſes to bind in thoſe particulars. But the caſe may well be thought farre different concerning the Biſhops, for beſides the Generall Oath to the Kingdome, here is a ſpeciall Oath to the Biſhops and their Churches under them, that the King will preſerve and defend them in all their rights.

Now unleſſe you can perſwade the Biſhops to give conſent to their owne aboliſhing, and ſo releaſe the King of his faith, given to them aſwell as to the reſt of the Kingdome, perſwade them, I ſay, not force them, for forced conſent is no conſent, neither in Law nor conſcience; You will never be able to ſecure the Kings conſcience as to this particular. That he may lawfully breake a *promiſſory Oath* without their conſent, to whom this ſolemne promiſe was made; *Juramentum promiſſorium obligat ad ſui obſervationem, nec poteſt in melius commutari cum nocumento creditoris, & ipſo invito; nam promiſſio qua fit homini, fit directè in commodum illius, unde non conſideratur quid in illa ſit melius, vel deo gratius, & hoc modo obligat quia neceſſarium eſt ad convictum humanum, & ut ſervetur juſtitia & veritas inter homines.* ita communiter Doctores Suar. de juram. promiſſ. l. 2. c. 15. n. 14. *In juramento homini facto non poteſt diſpenſari, quia per promiſſum acquiritur jus ei cui fit promiſſio, ſed non poteſt privari jure ſuo ſine juſta cauſa quæ ipſum concernere debet, quia utilitas unius non ſufficit, ut alter ſuo jure privetur.* Idem. cap. 41. n. 2. And I have great reaſon to thinke all the *Caſuiſts* of your faction are not able to untye this Knot.

Pamphlet.

As times turned, that the Clergy, in the conſtitution they now are in under Biſhops, have been a potent faction againſt the Liberties

of

of the Subiect, and the purity and power of Religion, the abolishing of Episcopacy must needs give them a great ground of assurance in those respects.

Animadvers.

These considerations seeme to be directed to the satisfying of the *Kingdome*, not mentioning the *King*; but I will take them as I find them; for I am confident what will satisfy the one, will satisfy both.

This charge bringes to mind, what *Eccleſiaſticall Story* tels us of the practice of the *Pagans* in the *Primitive* times; when any publicke calamity happened in the Empire, they uſed to lay the blame of all upon the Chriſtians, as the cauſe of all thoſe evills; So here if any miſcarriages have formerly beene in the Civill government, or preſſures upon the Subjects Liberties, the Biſhops muſt be the cauſe of all, though I muſt tell you, the maine cauſers of them have ſince beene welcome under the ſhelter of your faction. and that the Biſhops in place have beene as great oppoſers of them as any: and for Epiſcopacy it ſelfe it hath had no more relation to the cauſing of theſe ſufferings, then *Tenterden Steeple* to *Goodwin Sands*.

The truth is, your factions continuall and growing uſurpations and intrenchments upon the Kings juſt prerogative, and your violent practice, to ſet your ſelves above your ranke, no doubt for the advancement of the *Holy Cauſe*, have beene the greateſt occaſion of the late preſſures upon the peoples Liberties. The Kings Majeſty hath declared himſelfe prudently and graciouſly: *That it is His Prerogative to preſerve the peoples Liberties, and the peoples liberties ought to ſtrengthen His Prerogative.*

The King hath given as much aſſurance as can be in humane things, that He will doe His part; His Prerogative ſhall preſerve the peoples liberties. I would you would thinke as well of doing your duty, that the peoples liberties in a gratefull returne may ſtrengthen the Kings Prerogative. and beleeve it, you will find this the beſt, nay the onely way to ſecure your Liberties.

As

As for the other part of your charge, that the Bishops have beene enemies to the purity and power of religion, you should have sayd *Puritanisme*, and the power of darkenesse, for if we may judge of your faction by your workes, as our Saviour hath warranted us to judge of the tree by the fruits, your rising up in armes against your Leige Lord and Soveraigne, and all his loyall Subjects, your horrid prosecution of this unchristian, and unnaturall Rebellion, your robbing, imprisoning, murthering, forceing of damnable Oathes and Covenants, with many other high oppressions upon your fellow Subjects, shew you now to the world (what the Bishops before, by your dangerous positions, and secret practisings here, and open practises in other parts, wheresoever you got power, knew you to be,) namely a very dangerous faction against the true purity and power of Religion. But you still runn on with your clamour, and we must follow you.

Pamphlet.

As to civill rights and Liberties, because men of all rankes have suffered in their persons, and estates by the power of this faction, those of the better sort have felt their sharpe teeth, and ill will to the Subjects liberties in the House of Peeres, Starre-Chamber, Counsell Table, and High Commission.

Animadvers.

Sir, what meane you by liberty? If you meane true liberty which may stand with that duty and allegeance, which by the lawes of God and the Land, all owe to their Soveraigne, let your party give an instance wherein the Bishops have opposed it; Besides the number of the Bishops being so few respectively in those severall Courts you mention; in saying the better sort have felt their ill will to the Subjects liberties, in those severall Courtes, do you not with the same breath charge, also the whole house of *Peeres*, all the Lords of the *Privy Counsell* and the *Starr-chamber*, as well as the Bishops?

Concerning the *High Commission*, whatsoever severity hath there beene used against your faction, hath not your un-

sufferable violence and wickednesse since made it appeare to all the world, to have beene for the most part too little. And besides the Subject now findes, that the little finger of a *Sub committee* is heavier then the loynes of the *High Commission* and the *Star chamber*, put them both together at the highest. And whereas you say, that the the best of all rankes have felt the teeth of the Bishops in these Courts, It is very strange then, that the best of all rankes should desire the Bishops continuance, and none should desire their extirpation, but onely *Sectaries* and *Atheists*, as is notoriously knowne: But it is the manner of your party, out of your great humility and knowledge of your selves, to stile your selves the best, & if need be the whole Parish; as the small in considerable remainder in the two pretended Houses of Parliament make in your estimation, the whole Kingdome.

Pamphlet.

Those of inferiour rankes have felt the sting of their tailes in their Ecclesiasticall Courts, wherein by their under Officers they have pilled and polled the poore people at their pleasure, and layd upon them a burden heavier, then ever ship-money was unto them.

Animadverf.

You are still upon your old errour of intitling the Kingdome to all your sufferings, for by those of inferiour ranke, you must meane your owne faction, with some other scandalous persons, which have justly suffered in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, for crimes most proper to their Cognizance; And whatever courte language you are pleased to bestow upon those Courts, yet since the intermission of them, the whole Kingdome sees, and each good man laments with greife of heart the stupendious growth of those many hatefull crimes to God and Man, as swearing, blasphemy, drunkennesse, fornication, adultery, incest, prophanation of Gods House and Worship, Schisme, heresie, with many other sinnes which were before in part restrained, but are now commonly practiced without all controll under your happy Reformation.

And

And for the pilling and polling, which you charge upon the under officers of the *Eccleſiaſticall Courts*, and through them upon the *Biſhops*, it is well knowne the fees of thoſe Courts are limited, and not left at pleaſure; every *Regiſter* being bound to have a table of the lawfull fees in his office for every man to ſee; which how moderate they are (what ever clamours have beene raiſed to the contrary) in compariſon of fees in other Courts, thoſe that have had experience of both cannot but acknowledge.

Beſides, if any under officers have exacted more then their due, as no queſtion they have, both in the Eccleſiaſticall and other Courts, to the very great and generall greivance of the Kingdome, yet if the Biſhops taking this into their conſideration have made the beſt proviſion they can againſt it, both in their Canons, and cenſures, and no wayes concurring in the crime; they deſerve encouragement and aſſiſtance in ſo good a worke, not to have it caſt upon their account, as a crime of theirs.

However, theſe are but perſonall faults in the under Officers, and if your principle of Reformation be, to aboliſh Offices and Courts for perſonall faults in ſome Officers and Judges: give mee leave to tell you, if you follow this Reformation too cloſe, you may happily aboliſh all the Courts in the Kingdom, and ſhew your ſelfe at laſt an Enemy to Parliaments.

Pamphlet.

Neither can they beleeve that theſe have beene the perſonall faults onely of ſome few men, ſeeing it hath beene ſo generall to the whole Tribe, and ſo conſtant at all times, not this time excepted, that they have lien under ſuch a cloud, and yet have beene as ready to doe or ſuffer any thing, which might be to the prejudice of the Subject, as heretofore.

Animadverſ.

Here you take upon you to charge the very order of *Epiſcopacy*, but whether the boldneſſe or weakeneſſe of your charge be greater is very hard to determine, where you ſay the whole

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tribe of Bishops, as you phrase it, hath beene generally faulty, and constantly at all times, you forget your selfe to be a Christian, or by what meanes God hath conveyed that inestimable Blessing to you and the rest of the Kingdome; was it, thinke you, by a tribe of wicked men that have beene generally and constantly faulty? O Sir, be better advised, or else it had beene better for you to have beene borne a *Pagan*, then not to acknowledge with all humble thankefulnesse the great blessing you received in being borne againe a Christian by Baptisme, and in acknowledgement thereof to reverence the Instruments which God made choice of to derive it to you.

But however you forget your selfe in undervalewing nay reviling your fathers in Christ, the greatest and best part of the Kingdome have had so long and full experience of the manifold Blessings of God upon this Church and State by the Episcopall Government, especially since the Reformation, that they are not yet minded to make tryall of your Novelties. I will therefore make a faire motion to you; Let you and your party goe into some uninhabited part of the world, and there make tryall of your Church Discipline (if you can agree upon it) but for so many yeares as since the Reformation, I will desire no more of you, then let a good certificate be made to those that are here in being of the excellency of your Government, and then comparing them both together, let that which appeares to be the better government, take place.

And whereas you charge it as a great fault upon the Bishops even at this present time, that they are ready to do & suffer any thing, which may be to the prejudice of the Subjects as heretofore, we know your meaning, the Bishops will not joyn with you in this ungodly rebellion, which you pretend is in defence of the Subjects liberties; Sir, you could not honour them more in the sight of God and good men, for they *have not so learned Christ*, nor Christian Religion; Saint *Paul* sayth expressely, Rom. 13 *He that resists the higher Powers shall receive damnation*: and the Oath of Supremacy (were there nothing else) tells the English Subject, plainely who the highest power here is, for, he sweares the Kings Supremacy: yea each Member of the Commons House in Parliament takes this Oath (and so acknowledges

knowledges the Kings (supremacy) in the time of Parliament. So he is acknowledged supream both in and out of Parliament; Now you and your faction may thinke to avoid the Scriptures damnation by your vaine distinctions of in and out, but the Bishops (how meanely soever you are pleased to thinke of them) judge it best to take the safest way in a point of Damnation, and that's the plaine way without distinguishing, the good old way of not resisting the King. But you goe on still with your Charge against Episcopacy it selfe.

Pamphr.

Lastly they find that their aimes, interests, and dependancies are such, that they will allwayes doe the like, and that both the frame and exercise of their government, being altogether diverse from, and disproportionable unto that of the Civill State, they are obliged thereby to run counter to it.

Animadverf.

This of all the rest of your accusations is the most impudent and unreasonable, and argues you to be willfully blinded in what you have once fancyed; yet to let the world see your madnesse, rather then cut of any hope to cure it, I will make it appeare in flat opposition to your accusation, That of all Church Governements there is none, there can be none, so proportionable, and every way agreeable to the Government of this Civill State, which is *Monarchicall*, as is the *Episcopall* government.

For first what stronger evidence can there be of this agreement, then that *Monarchy and Episcopacy* have continued in all Christian Kingdomes since their first receiving of Christianity, yea even in those that deny obedience to the *Romish* see, as in the *Greeke*, *Muscovite*, *Abissine*, *Georgian*, *Armenian*, and other Churches reckoned up by Doctor *Field*, and Master *Brerewood*, who never knew any other Government but by Bishops? And in these western parts of the world when the Reformation of Religion was set on foot in severall Countries, though in some few States Episcopacy was rejected for reasons intimated

mated before, yet in all Kingdomes imbracing the reformation it was retained as best suiting with Monarchy; And in this Kingdome, though the Civill Government hath had many changes, under the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*, yet none of these Conquerours ever attempted the Change of Episcopall Government; which they rather sought to uphold and establish, then to abolish or impaire, which must of necessity arise from one of these two reasons, or both; Either they thought it to be of Divine Institution, and therefore not within their power to alter, or else to be so well suiting with Monarchy, that it was neither safe nor profitable to alter it.

And what opinion this Monarchy since hath had of Episcopall Government, and of the suitablenesse of it to the Civill Government, appeares both by the Kings constant using of their advise in their greatest affaires, and by the Declarations of sundry Acts of Parliament in acknowledgement of their worth and usefullnesse to the State. In the 25. *Edw.* 3. The Parliament acknowledges, *That the Holy Church of* England *was founded in the State of Prelacy, &c. And that the Kings of* England *in times past were wont to have the greatest part of their Councell for the safe-guard of the Realme of such Prelates and Clerkes advanced, &c. Whereas the Bishops of Rome granted the Bishopricks to Aliens, &c. To the destruction of the Lawes and rights of the Realme, the damage of the people, and subversion of the Estates of the Realme, &c.* The like we finde in the Statute of *provision* 16. *Ric.* 2. *Cap.* 4. Where the Commons shew *that the Prelates were much profitable and necessary to their Soveraigne Lord the King, and the whole Realme, both by their Counsell and their substance. And that by withdrawing those liege persons of his Counsell out of the Realm without the Kings consent & their own, the Realm would be destitute of counsell & substance, to the finall destruction of the same, &c.* And since the Reformation in the Reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, 1. *Eliz. Cap.* 1. The Bishops are called *one of the greatest Estates of this Realm*, and *the High Estate of Prelacy*. But this truth of the conformity and comportment of Episcopall Government with Monarchie call

call will best appeare by reasons, for seeing the Soveraigne power in a Monarchy is placed in one, if the Ecclesiasticall power be placed in some few, which have dependance upon, and subordination to that one, this in all reason must needs agree better with that government, then when a parity is introduced into the Clergy, no man being subordinate to another, nor all of them assembled subordinate to the King, hereby a *Democracy* will be set up in a *Monarchy*, and how those two Governments will agree together, let reason judge.

But I shall not need to use any other reasons in this subject to prove both the conformity of Episcopall Government with this Monarchy, and the unconformity of the Presbyteriall government with it, then what I find observed by a *Doctor* of your owne; in a discourse of his written, before his eyes were bloud-shot with this Rebellion, you have no reason to refuse the man nor his judgement seeing he dyed in your quarrell; But if you please let's passe the man, and looke upon his reasons, which for the most part of them are beyond your Mastering.

Doctor *Calebus Downing* in his 3. conclusions.

His Conclusion which he undertakes to prove is; *That the Aristocraticall government by Bishops is more fit for this Kingdome then that Monarchicall of the Romanists, or that other Democraticall of the Presbyterians, and concerning this last,* (for of the first we shall need to say nothing) he tels you; *That with much difficulty it will submit to be governed by a free Monarchy, especially being of that nature, where the same persons must be Civill Subjects, and Ecclesiasticall superiours, those Lay Elders that are neither Magistrates, nor Ministers, and yet must be Governours in the Church; Such a jurisdiction must needs destroy the nature of Monarchy.* pag. 16.

That whereas Christs Regall power is given in Charge to supreme Christian Magistrates, if these men derive not their power from the King (I may adde in the exercise of it) *they establish a Regiment against him, so that if His power doe not include theirs, they exclude his, and Having no supereminent power over them, as they impeach His right, so they will enlarge their owne liberty, till it be dissolved in a loose licentious Libertinisme.*

That

Pag. 17. *That this Government would be like the Spleene in the body, which is the subiect of the drogs, and setlings of all the humours; and that we may say of it, as* Plato *said of a Democracy, that it is inter iniquas formas optima, inter legitimas deterrima:* for if it degenerate into an Ochlocracy, it becomes the most intollerable Tyranny.

Pag. 22. *Whereas for the Government of Bishops he tels you, That no sooner was our State delivered from the Tyranny of the Romish Monarchy, but it soone pitched upon the Aristocraticall; and as all the Christian world did then approve the Choice, so we have ever since found the effects of it, in the safety, honour, and treasure of the Estate. 1. For first it wrought little or no alteration in the receiving, it being according to the Lawes restrained with the limitation of the Civill State; So that as it was received without force, and reentred without a State-earthquake, or shaking the ground of the Civill Government, so it ever continued peaceable, and a pacifier of growing differences, it being the middle State of three, and carrying it's selfe as a Mediator betwixt the King and his people.*

Pag. 23. *2. Secondly, it is the onely forme fit to be under the Monarchy, because it will be easily ruled, and ordered by the State, whereas both the other formes will rule, where they be entertained.*

3. And Thirdly, as it is easily ruled, so it will not easily be disordered, as the other will, though they should submit to be ruled for a Time, till they be able to resist, for all the branches of Rebellion are rooted and hid in the depth of dissembled disobedience. An Aristocracy cannot immediatly be dissolved either into a Tyranny, or a Tumultuous Popularity, it is not easie to conceive, how it should by any meanes, by the course of State corruption, ever degenerate into a head-strong popularity, of it's owne accord, without externall force: And as little reason there is it should advance it selfe into a Tyranny, by turning the Church into a Court, and Religion into a Vassall to Ambition.

Pag. 25. *That one more preservative it hath, That the Optimates (the Bishops) are strongly disposed to this kind of Government, not onely being of quiet Contemplative natures, but also the Academicall Colledge Government, which doth first possesse and fully please them is Aristocraticall.* 4. *And*

4. And fourthly, suppose this government should be disorder- Pag. 26.
ed, it is easiliest reformed, without stirre and tumults, and speedily, because it hath no power to resist Authority, which the other two formes have, by stirring up the vulgar, whom they rely and rest upon for assistance, whereas this state can use no such meanes to stand out a Rebellion, because if it offends, it proceeds rather from weaknesse then wickednesse, from Scholastical indiscretion, which deserves rather pity then punishment, and it is not likely that they should disturbe the State, who shall ever unduly loose that little that they have, rather then gaine more.

That the only Bishops among these that have troubled and Pag. 28.
turmoyled Kingdoms, are only Peters pretended successors, which have gained by fishing in such troubled waters.

This is the summe of your Doctors reasons for the Episcopall government.

After which he expresses himselfe for the power of Kings, and the care they ought to have to uphold the Clergy. He tels us, and that most truly; That there is more in Scripture for the power of Kings, then in any books in the World besides. That to uphold their power, they must uphold their Nobility and Clergy Pag. 34.
as the two pillars of a Monarchy, the communalty being the ground whereon they stand; which they well know that intend the ruine of Monarchy, for they will be sure to strike at these two props, knowing it will then fall, and the foundation remains for them to erect a new government upon.

I oppose these reasons, to your considerations, and where he finds most reason let the Reader give his vote.

Pamphlet.

As to Religion, because the jealousies of an alteration intended therein.

Animadverf.

You have thought of *Religion* at the last, though you propounded it not at first, where you practise the *Cut-purse* art, in drawing the peoples eyes aside, that you may in the meane while worke your feat, you amuse them with out-cries and

raise jealousies in them of an intended alteration of Religion (as you say) and in the meane while your selves indeavour a realt and in a manner totall alteration of the *Religion established*, and professe it; were there nothing else in it I should much suspect your religion, which must be ushered in by such arts as these.

Pamphlet

Arising from the Introduction of divers Popish Innovations and Ceremonies.

Animadverf.

With you all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Reformation are no better then Popish Innovations and Ceremonies, and the Bishops are traduced by you as Popish, and Popishly affected for urgeing the observation of them, though there be a most strict charge to this purpose layed upon the Bishops by the Parliament in the beginning of Queene *Elizabeths* reigne. The words are very remarkeable, therefore I will relate them here; *And for due execution hereof* (i. e. the use of the service booke with the Rites and Ceremonies) *The Queenes most excellent Majesty, the Lords temporall, and all the Commons in this present Parliament assembled doth in Gods name earnestly require and charge all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, that they shall indeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges, that the due and true execution hereof may be had throughout their Dioceses, and Charges, as they will answer before God for such evills and plagues, wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his People for neglecting his good and wholsome Law.* This is a very solemne and waighty charge, and the Bishops especially of late, have beene very sensible of it, and have accordingly pressed the due and true use of the service Booke, and all the Ceremonies there established, As for any other customary observances that have beene practised according to the usage of the first times of the Reformation, and since disused, do you but as obedient Subjects conforme to those Ceremonies that are established in the very letter of the Law,

In the act for the Uniformity of Common prayer, printed before the service booke.

and

and the Bishops, neither have nor will urge the practice of any new, nor other Ceremony upon you.

I wish you could give as faire an account of those many and grand Innovations you would put upon this Church and State, with which I shall charge you by and by.

Pamphlet.

And the suppressing of preaching, it is evident that the Bishops and their adherents have beene the Authors thereof.

Animadverf.

Would your selves suffer invectives against your owne platformes of Government, should you obtaine your desires, and governe here, which God forbid? The Bishops have done no more, they have not suppressed the preaching of the Word of God, but the declamations of your faction against the established Government here, which you mis-name preaching. Condemne not that in others, which you allow in your selves, be once ingenious, if you can: But we shall meet with this clamour in a full cry by and by, and there we shall give it a fuller answer.

Pamphlet.

And consequently, There can be no meanes so potent to assure mens minds, that there is no intention of returning to Popery, as the abolishing of Episcopacy.

Animadverf.

The Reformers of this Church from Popery, who were more godly wise, and understood better what belongs to Reformation, then you will ever doe, were of another opinion; But let's heare your reasons.

Pamphlet.

Whereby we shall recede further from Popery, then ever we did since the blessed Reformation.

Animadvers.

The blessed Reformers of this Church receded from *Popery* to the primitive purity of *Christian Religion* corrupted by Popery; This was a receding from an extreame to the meane; To recede farther then they did, is to recede from one extreame to another, and to leape over the meane, which the Poet will tell you is not the Reformation of wise men, *Stultiorum vitare vitia* —— But you argue, That to recede from *Popery* as farre as we can, will best secure our not returning thither againe, as if *Popery* were the onely mischeife to be avoided; we must not so farre recede from the superstitions of Popery, as to run our selves into *Prophanesse* and *Atheisme*, and to leape over the course and practice of the first and best ages of the Church. Neither may we under the pretence of receding from the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome* fall headlong into *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, and leape over that Government, which hath ever and every where till of yesterday obtained in the Church of *Christ*. Popery is a very great and dangerous evill, 'tis most true, yet prophanesse and popular confusion & running counter to the whole course of Christendome, and that in the best times, are evills also of a very great magnitude and concernement, to say no more.

But should we admit there were no greater nor other mischeife to the Church then Popery; Yet the receding farthest from it, is not allwayes the best assurance of not returning thither againe: your owne faction is an evidence of this beyond all exception; For notwithstanding your violent recessions from the Church of *Rome*, you are wheeled about with the Spirit of giddines, and returned backe to the very Tyranny, and superstitions of *Rome*, the Scene onely, and some properties a little altered. To instance in some few particulars; You have as many superstitions about your Sermons, as the Church of *Rome* in and about their prayers. And you place as much Religion in the very *opus operatum* of a Sermon, as the Papists doe in the bare hearing of a *Masse*.

Againe the same exorbitant power which the *Pope* usurpes

 over

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over Kings, making them onely his Ministers to execute his Decrees, the same extravagant power you assume to your Assemblies, or Consistories, or Presbyteries, or where you can agree to place your Ecclesiasticall power; and the same bloudy rebellious Doctrines of Subjects taking up of Armes, and resisting of Kings, and advancing the Cause by what meanes soever, though never so dishonourable, and unjust in themselves; and many the like devilish maximes that are published by the *Jesuites* for the upholding of the Tyranny, and usurpation of the Pope over Monarchy, and the Church of God; the same and worse are daily vented out of the Pulpits & presses by your seditious Lecturers for the same ends, and the people miserably bewitched and seduced by them, to the destruction of their estates, bodies, and soules; and if God be not the more mercifull, to the utter desolation of the most flourishing Church, and Kingdome in the Christian world; your practices of late have made this so notoriously manifest to all the world, that did not blindnesse of mind through the height of Gods Judgements upon you accompany the perversenesse of your spirits, and the bloudinesse of your resolutions, your selves could not but acknowledge your owne guilt, and abhorre your selves in dust & ashes, as you have rendred your selves and your actions most justly odious in the sight of God, and all good men. See *Lysimachus Nicanor.*

By all which your selves have made it appeare to all the world, (and so have confuted your owne rule of Reformation) That to recede farthest from Popery is not allwayes the best security for not returning thither againe.

Pamphlet.

As by the late Innovations we were drawne nearer to it, then ever we were since the Reformation.

Animadvers.

You have your Answer to this before, and thither I shall referre you.

Pamphlet.

Those that thinke this to be a running too far to the other extreme should also consider, admitting it were so, yet being a thing indifferent, and lawfull to be done.

Animadverf.

You may admit a running into extremities out of the high conceit you have of your selves, that any thing becomes you; but we cannot admit Episcopacy, nor the abolishing of it amongst things indifferent, upon your bare affirmation. Or should we for disputations sake grant, That Episcopacy and so the abolishing of it were things in their owne nature indifferent, yet you will never be able to prove your abolition of it in this Kingdome to be lawfull, which is your second Assertion; for that cannot be done lawfully without the Kings consent, and the King cannot consent lawfully by reason of His Oath, which cannot lawfully be released without the Bishops consent, who are cheifely interessed in it, and to whom the Oath was made, which I conceive hath beene fully made appeare.

Pamphlet.

Whether it be not necessary, at least expedient, to doe it at this time.

Animadverf.

Your foundation of the lawfullnesse of abolishing hath failed you, and therefore your building of necessity, and expedience will prove but a Castle in the aire. That which is unlawfull can no wayes become necessary, nor expedient.

Pamphlet.

For the satisfaction of weake minds.

Animadverf.

That is of your faction; Truly Sir, you have not given the world especially of late that satisfaction either in your judgement or honesty, that they should be much moved with an Argument drawne from giving you satisfaction; That which would

would satisfie you, would give but ill satisfaction to the greatest and best part of the Kingdome. Your Unchristian (did I say) nay inhumane and barbarous outrages against Episcopacy have more and more honoured it in the eyes of all sober-minded men within the Kingdome; for as it was said of that Monster *Nero*, that cannot but be good, which *Nero* condemns; so there needs not a greater Argument of Commendation to Episcopacy, then that it is so exceedingly maligned by such Monsters of wickednesse as your selves.

Pamphlet.

That have beene possessed with so great and so just a jealousie, in respect of the latter declining so farre to the other extreme.

Animadvers.

How just your jealousie in this respect hath beene, the Reader may learne by what hath gone before; but we shall readily acknowledge it to be great, and the greater for the unjustnesse of it, as that great and wise Counsellour the *L. Burleigh* said, in the case of Sir *John Perrot* sometimes Lord Deputy of *Ireland* oppressed by the malice of his enemies. That he had ever observed it of jealousies and enmities betwixt men The most unjust and groundlesse, were ever the most extreame and violent. Cambd. *Elizab.* Leicest. Commonwealth.

Pamphlet.

Multitudes cannot thinke themselves secure from Popery and Popish innovations, so long as Episcopacy continueth.

Animadvers.

Whilst your faction was in growing, you boasted your selves to be the Children of God from your paucity, yee were then the little flocke of Christ, the few that shall be saved, but now you are growne up, multitude is become a note of your Church which you have heretofore condemned as Popish; Your Divinity it seemes is changeable, and you can vary it, as you have occasion to use it.

Pamphlet.

Pamphlet.

Because they conceive, that as Episcopacy and Popery were hatched, and grew up to their heights together.

Animadverf.

If this conceit of yours be true, I would gladly be informed by you how the first Bishops of *Rome*, who for many successions lived most renowned preservers of the purity of Christian Religion both in Doctrine and Discipline, and died glorious Martyrs for the same, as is unquestionable in the Church Story, how it is conceiveable, that these Holy Bishops should at the same time hatch Popery, which is nothing else but the swerving of the Church of *Rome* from the primitive purity of Christian Religion. Resolve mee but this riddle, and I will then conceive with your Multitudes, That Episcopacy and Popery were hatched, and grew up together.

Pamphlet.

But that they are bottomed upon the same grounds and principles, there being the same reason for an Arch-Bishop, and so for a Patriarch, and a Pope, to keepe Bishops from Schismes and factions, as that there should be a Bishop over other Presbyters, to keepe them from Schismes; And generally throughout, that the same reasons which serve to maintaine the one, serve proportionably to maintaine the other, and that the same effects that follow upon the one, will also proportionably follow upon the other.

Animadverf.

I cannot but take notice here of your good affection to Schismes and factions, you are out of love with *Popes, Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops*, and *Bishops*, because there is the same reason (you say) for one, and all. They serve onely to keepe from *Schismes* and *factions*. But this by the way.

The maine thing I have to tell you is, that you are very grosly mistaken in this ranking of the Pope, and our Archbishops,

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ſhops, and Biſhops together, in keeping out Schiſmes and factions; And you might with as good reaſon have ranked our Biſhops & your ſelves together, for the Pope by aſſumeing to himſelfe *Chriſts* incommunicable Title and power of *Univerſall Biſhop*, and the Divine prerogative of *Infallibility* hath raiſed as much ſchiſme and faction in the Chriſtian world, as your ſelves uſe to do, under the ſtile of the Kingdome of Chriſt where you get power in your hands, whereas there is not a more effectuall ſuppreſſer of ſchiſmes and factions, then Archiepiſcopacy, and Epiſcopacy, if it be conſerved in its due and full power, as it is regulated and eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; nor on the other ſide a greater inlet to ſchiſmes, and factions, then the ſuppreſſing of the juſt and neceſſary power of our Archbiſhops, and Biſhops. I wiſh your faction had not given the Kingdom a ſad experiment of the truth of this. Your foundation therefore failing you of coupling the Pope and our Biſhops together in the reaſons and end of their conſtitution, your pretty fancies of the ſame meanes for their maintenance, and the ſame effects of their power built upon this foundation, fall to the ground without more adoe.

Pamphlet

And withall they obſerve that there hath not beene the like ſhew, and feare of defection unto Popery, in any Reformed Church, as in this, where Biſhops are retained, and that it hath proceeded alſo from the Biſhops, and their adherents.

Animadverſ.

It is well your owne quick-ſighted multitudes can obſerve only a ſhew and a feare of defection unto popery in the Church of *England*; but neither is that to be aſcribed to the Biſhops, and their adherents, who have raiſed ſuch monuments of their zeale, and abilities againſt Popery in their many religious and learned writings, as are not extant in all the Reformed Churches beſides.

The truth is, this ſhew and feare you obſerve, is of your owne fancying and framing, the Kingdome knowes you are

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good at raiſing of feares and jealouſies. Your multitudes next obſervation will be of ſhewes, and feares, of the *Monarchies* defection into *Tyranny*; then if you draw your arrowes to the head, and follow your Principles home, have at the Monarchy, as well as *Epiſcopacy*. And if other Reformed Churches have not the like ſhewes, and feares of defection raiſed amongſt them, as in the Church of *England*, they may thanke God, and in part their owne providence for it, that have not nouriſhed in their owne bowels a profeſſed faction againſt their eſtabliſhed government, as this unhappy Church and State hath done.

Pamphl.

Multitudes cannot thinke themſelves ſecure from alteration in religion till they are aſſured of the preaching of Gods word, whereby mens minds may be inſtructed, and eſtabliſhed in the truth.

Animadverſ.

You ſhould have layed, your multitudes cannot be ſecure of the alteration of Religion your ſelves intend to make, till they are aſſured of the *preaching of curſing and lyes*, which is the preaching now in faſhion amongſt you, whereby mens minds may be reduced from their obedience to God, and the King, and confirmed in their Rebellion. Had the Biſhops beene able totally to have ſuppreſſed theſe kind of preachers, as you call them, indeed the Trumpeters of ſedition, the fomenters of faction, the Incendiaries of the Kingdome, I am ſure God, and the King had beene better ſerved, and our Religion, and State preſerved from that deplorable confuſion, wherein it is now involved.

Pa. 59. 12.

But you of all others (me thinks) ſhould not complaine of the Biſhops for ſuppreſſing of preaching; It is obſerved by judicious men of many writers of Controverſies of Religion, that they uſually charge their adverſaries with thoſe imputations, whereof themſelves are moſt guilty, as if they meant to embroyle controverſies, not to extinguiſh them. Your ſelves, who are wholly acted with the Spirit of oppoſition, are moſt extremely

extremely guilty of this contentious, and partiall humour, so guilty, that there is not one particular, wherewith you have charged your adversaries (as you make them) in this great controversie of the Kingdome, wherein your selves are not most transcendent transgressors.

You charge the King and his Ministers with an Arbitrary government, and who more lawlesse in your usurped government, then your selves, even to the height of oppression, and Tyranny? You charge the King with the breach of the priviledges of Parliament, and your selves the while have infringed the greatest priviledge of a Parliament, that can be, which is the freedome of it.

You charge the King with the invading of the property of the subject, and whose property have not you invaded, that is the Kings loyall Subject?

You charge the Bishops with Innovations in Religion, your selves in the meane while being the greatest Innovators in Religion, in the Christian world, not only in departing from the constant and Universall Interpretation, and usage of the *Catholique Church* of Christ, and that in very many particulars of high concernment both in Doctrine, and Discipline; but even from those particular Reformed Churches, whom you most admire: for I would very gladly be informed by you, what Reformed Church you follow in your pretended Reformation, I will tell you by and by in its proper place how you have Innovated, and that in no meane matters, from all other Reformed Churches, even from the ancient *Kirke* of *Scotland*, whom of late you have acknowledged for your mother, so great masters are you in the Art of *Innovating*.

In your covenant with hell.]

Lastly, you complaine here of the Bishops for suppressing of preaching, who now and then silenced, or suspended one of your factious Lecturers, whilest your selves have imprisoned or sequestred all the Orthodox preachers of the Land. You Hypocrites first cast out the Beame of your owne eye.

Pamphlet.

They cannot be assured of the enjoying of preaching, so long as Bi-

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Bops continue, for they have found them to be the violent suppressors thereof.

Animadverf.

He that looks back to the beginning of the Reformation, and obserues all along, the growth of preaching, from what meane beginings at the first to what a height sermons are now risen both in number and weight, and that under the government of Bishops, will not find them to have beene suppressors of preaching, much lesse violent; they will sooner find your faction to be very violent suppressors of the truth.

In Queene *Elizabeths* dayes the Court had Sermons only in Lent for the greatest part of Her time. After that, Her Majesties houshold had now and then a Sermon upon Sundayes.

In the Country I have heard a grave Divine say, that in the whole County of *Hartford* there were not above 4 or 5 preaching Ministers, whereof himselfe was one, this was towards the end of the Queenes Reigne, and in other Counties the proportion at that time did not much exceed.

In the City of *London* not forty yeares since very many of the Churches had but their monthly or quarterly Sermons; And how preaching is of late improved both in Court, Country, and City, unto twice a weeke, (to say no more) or once at least in every Church and Chappell almost throughout the whole Kingdome, your selves cannot be ignorant; And call you this suppressing of preaching? Sure it hath not beene very violent. Well, I make you a faire motion, name but any one of the Reformed Churches abroad, which you fancy best (your mother Kirke of *Scotland*, if you please) where preaching abounds in that plenty, as in the Church of *England* under the government of Bishops or else for ever after hold your peace, as to this complaint, of the Bishops violent suppressing of preaching.

Pamphlet.

The Bishops will alwayes suppresse diligent Preachers.

Animadverf.

Animadverſ.

If it be lawfull to argue from the time paſt to the future, as your ſeves here do; I affirme the Biſhops have not ſuppreſſed any diligent preachers meerely for their diligence, and therefore it is to be preſumed, they will not. But Sir, there are more qualifications belong to preachers beſides diligence, which if they be wanting, diligence is no more a vertue, but a vice, and a very high aggravation of it, the more, the worſe in ſuch a caſe.

The beſt things are apteſt to degenerate and corrupt, and the beſt things corrupted become the worſt; preaching amongſt the reſt. It behoves the Biſhops therefore to regulate all preachers under their government, leſt through the irregularity of the preachers, preaching it ſelfe degenerate into that which deſerves any thing rather then the name of preaching. If in this regulation the Biſhops have ſuppreſſed any irregularities in the preachers, or their ſermons, they have honoured and advanced preaching by it, and are not to be accounted the ſuppreſſors of diligent, but of irregular preachers.

The truth of this will beſt appeare by inſtancing in ſome particulars. The Biſhops are to regulate preaching for matter, time, and place.

1. Firſt for the matter of it, that it be according to the word of God; now if in proſecution of this rule, the Biſhops have ſuppreſſed *Heterodox*, factious and ſeditious preaching, this is not ſuppreſſing the preaching of the word of God, but of the word of man, or worſe, and that becauſe it ſpeakes not according to the word of God.

2. For the time and meaſure of preaching; the Biſhops are to moderate, that it intrench not upon other times and duties, to the placeing of all Religion in preaching and hearing of Sermons. There is a Time to pray, a Time to preach, and a Time to worke in our ſeverall vocations, a Time for all things, ſayeth the preacher, preaching therefore muſt not take up all our time. If the Biſhops therefore have indeavoured to confine preaching to an houre, that it may not juſtle out the prayers Eccles. 3.

of the Church, or to Sundayes, and Holydayes that the people may not neglect their vocations on working dayes, this is not a ſuppreſſing of preaching, but a juſt preſſing of every duty in the proper ſeaſon of it. The Biſhops of former times, that reſtrained the *Euchite*, an over-zealous ſect that were all for praying, were not for this accounted the ſuppreſſors of praying; And if our preſent Biſhops have indeavoured to regulate your party that are all for preaching, why ſhould this in them be accounted a ſuppreſſing of preaching?

3. For the place of preaching, the Biſhops are to take care, that it be publicke in the Church, I meane for ſet preaching, that which wee commonly call preaching, otherwiſe to creepe into houſes, to keep Conventicles, & to preach in corners, is to keep Eccleſiaſticall Aſſemblies againſt the Aſſemblies of the Church, which your Ghoſtly Fathers of *Scotland* will tell you *is the moſt factious, the moſt Scandalous, and the moſt dangerous way of diviſion, and ſeperation that hath bin heard of in any Kirke, or Kingdome; and therefore by Eccleſiaſticke cenſures, and civill puniſhments to be ſpeedily and powerfully ſuppreſſed, as a moſt pernicious practize, tending to the deſtruction both of Religion, and the peace of this Kingdome, and directly oppoſite to the propagation of the Goſpell.* They are the words of the Commiſſioners of the Generall Aſſembly in *Scotland*. Now if the Biſhops of the Church of *England* have according to this very prudent advice endeavoured only to ſuppreſſe Conventicles, and private Aſſemblyes againſt the Church, I hope your piety will not ſuffer you ſo ſuddainely to accuſe your new mother of *Scotland* for ſuppreſſing of preaching, and your juſtice will not ſuffer you to accuſe your old mother, and acquit your new in the ſame caſe.

Pamphlet.

Which carry away the reputation from them.

Animadverſ.

Good Sir, overweene not your ſelfe, nor your preachers; They are for the moſt part men of no reputation, but with your

your selves, that have cast of all sense off honour and reputation: And that which you thinke most commends them (their preaching, considering the manner of it) is the greatest staine that may be to their reputation in the eyes of all sober-minded men: for whereto tends their preaching, but to seduce the people, and stirre them up to sedition, and faction, whereby Gods holy name is prophaned, and his sacred Ordinance of preaching perverted to the destruction of mens soules?

Sir, if you call this reputation, assure your selfe, the Bishops will never be ambitious of it.

Pamphlet.

May in tyme also carry away their reward, and share their Bishopricks among them.

Animadvers.

Sir, you want a good memory, you tell us in the very front of your Pamphlet, it is one of your peerlesse reasons, that the Bishopricks will increase His Majesties revenue, (if your project of abolishing be not abolished,) and here your preachers shall share their Bishopricks amongst them. Shall I tell you my opinion? you meane they shall share both alike, the King and preachers, a small benevolence; you intend the greatest share to *N. F. Esquire*, and such Esquires as your selfe.

Pamphlet.

And for the same reason they will alwayes favour dumbe Preists, that preach as little as themselves, because they neither Eclipse their honour, nor endanger their profits.

Animadvers.

Sir *Francis Bacon*, a man of honour, and learning hath an observation in honour of the Sermons of his time, that if they had beene collected into a body, they had been the best worke in Divinity since the Apostles times; Sure your preachers barren lectures (take them at the best) could never please that learned Palate so, as to draw from him so high an *Encomium*; no

Advancement of learning, 2. Booke.

no doubt he meant it cheifely of the learned labours of the conformable Clergy, such as he ordinarily heard, which are infinitely improved also since his time, whom yet you honour with no better title, then that of dumbe Preists, but I leave it to the understanding reader, whether he will beleeve his judgement, or your rayling.

Pamphlet.

The Bishops neither can nor will be diligent preachers themselves, so long as besides their Ministeriall functions, they have a whole Diocesse to rule.

Animadvers.

It seemes in your Divinity, the ruling of the Church is none of the Ministeriall functions, the truth is, the ruleing both in Church & State is the thing you aime at for your selves. But to let that passe, The Bishops you say neither can nor will be diligent Preachers themselves, so long as they have a whole Dioecesse to rule; Sir, I know you would triumph very much before the victory, Should I grant you that it is not fit a Bishop should preach so frequently in his owne person, as others of his Clergy, considering he hath a Dioceſse to rule; But I pray you give mee leave to aske you a question? Is it fit for the Generall of an Army, that is to order the whole Army, to fight as much in his owne person as an inferiour Commander, or a Common Souldier? If he doe engage himselfe in his owne person to the neglecting of his Office as Generall, he may happily be reputed the more popularly valiant, but withall it is a very great adventure if he destroyes not himselfe, and his whole Army by it; The Church is resembled in the Canticles to a well orderd Army, the Churchmen are the souldiers of this Army, their preaching is a maine part of their warfare, The Bishops are to rule and direct the rest to preach, out of their wisedome and experience; And it is the Bishops proper worke to oversee the Preachers, and to keepe them in order, and a great worke it is, and whosoever does it conscientiously, shall find it so, he shall not need to be idle; and it is a worke also of very high concernment

concernment for the good of the Church, for if the inferiour Churchmen be not well ordered, they will fight againſt the Church, as well as for the Church, we lye under the lamentable experience of it at this day; As for the Biſhops preaching in his owne perſon; he ought to do it, and to do it frequently, the oftner the better, with regard, had to his yeares, and other parts of his duty; But if a Biſhop will ſo farre attend perſonall preaching, as to neglect the over-ſight of the ſeverall preachers, that are under him, he may happily live and dye the more popular man, but it had beene better for his *Dioceſſe*, and their ſoules health, if he had beſtowed more time in obſerving, incouraging, and ordering the ſeverall preachers in his *Dioceſſe* to do their duties, this muſt in reaſon have more edifyed his *Dioceſſe*, then his perſonall preaching alone could do.

Pamphlet

And cumber themſelves with places of civill Jurisdiction beſides, and they much accompanyed with great temporall dignities, and revennues.

Animadverſ.

For civill Jurisdiction, you know there is a courſe taken to eaſe both Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy thereof, and I wiſh both Church and State may ſee better fruits of it then hitherto, yet that the exerciſe of ſome part of civill Jurisdiction may be rather a helpe then a hindrance to the ſpirituall function, the example of the Jewiſh preiſthood approved by God himſelfe, and the experience of all well governed Chriſtian Churches and Kingdomes in other parts, and of our owne in former ages, till this preſent, are teſtimonies beyond exception. *Vid. 2. Chron. 19. 8.*

As for the Temporalities, of the Biſhops which they injoy by the bounty of Godly Kings according to the Lawes of God and the land, theſe are ſo farre from being encumbrances or hindrances to the Biſhop either in his preaching or government, that they are great, yea neceſſary helpes to make them both effectuall to the end for which they were ordained. For *the poore mans wiſdome is contemned* ſaith the wiſe man, and even Eccles. 9. 16.

ven a King that is poore is without power, much more a poore Clergy man. And therefore even in the Apostles times God thought it not enough to arme them with the power of miracles, but for their farther support & assistance, in preaching the Gospell, and governing the Church, he conferred upon them the power of disposing the whole revenewes of the Church;

Acts. 4. 34. *for as many as were possessors of lands, or houses, sold them, and brought the price, and layed it downe at the Apostles feet.* Give the Bishops this power againe, and you have good leave to take away their civill Jurisdictions, Dignities and revenues.

Pamphlet.

Multitude and diversity of imployments make them unable, and the height of temporall honors, excesse of worldly wealth make them too stately, and too idle to discharge their ministeriall functions, as they ought, so that they must leave their sweetnesse, and their fatnesse, if with the bramble they will reigne over the trees.

Animadvers.

To let passe your senseless application of *Jothams* parable against the Bishops. All these your insinuations conclude as strongly against the Civill government, as the Ecclesiasticall, against Monarchy it selfe, as well as Episcopacy, for will not multitude and diversity of imployments make you unable, as well as the Bishops, especially when you take upon you both Ecclesiasticall, and Civill jurisdiction? will not excesse of worldly wealth make your selves too stately, (but that proud men never thinke of their owne pride) and too idle also to discharge your severall functions? Do you not (in good earnest) thinke all rule over you even in the State, to be no better *then the brambles reigne*, unlesse your selves have the managing of all. You have made too much way for the Anabaptisticall phrensy of parity. Take heed, your owne issue will destroy their parents in the conclusion, and levell your selves in the confusions of your owne making.

Pamphlet.

Pamphlet.

Upon the whole matter, the question is, whether the appointing of a certaine number of Laymen by His Majesty and his Parliament, to exercise all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction under them, and by their Authority, instead of Archbishops and Bishops, appointing a certaine number of Laymen, to exercise it under them by their Authority, in their names, and under their Seales.

Animadverſ.

Hitherto you have laboured to pull downe Episcopacy, you now tell us, what you would build up in the roome of it; wherin like your ancestors, the builders of *Babel*, or like those that build Castles in the aire, you propound a modell, which never yet had being, but in your owne braines, and votes. For you would invest meer Laymen so remaining with all Episcopall, and Ecclesiasticall Power; by which meanes you would make the power of the Church, and the ministers of it, a meer humane ordinance, & confound the Sacred and Civill function, against all presidents either of *Christians*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, or any people that acknowledge a Deity: so farre are you from that agreement you boast of with other Reformed Churches.

First for Jurisdiction, the use of the Keyes according to your plat-forme must be only in Laymens hands, they must have the sole power to excommunicate and absolve even the Ministers themselves, as well as any other; to judge of their doctrine, and thereupon to suspend or deprive them, if cause be; to determine all controversies of faith, and to be the sole Judges in all matters spirituall which most neerely concerne the soule. This is a device so directly opposite to the Ordinance of Christ, who committed the use of the Keyes, and therewith the Government of the Church in matters Spirituall to His Apostles and their successors onely, that amongst all the monstrous opinions of Ancient and Moderne *Heretickes* and *Schismatiques*, there was never yet vented such an Un-Christian paradox to the world; so farre are you from conforming in this (as you pretend) with other Reformed Churches.

You have indeed the example of ſome other Reformed Churches, your Mother the Kirke of *Scotland* if you will, for giving power of voting to Lay-men, in paſſing of the moſt ſpirituall cenſures of the Church; I doe not ſay you have the Example of Chriſt for it, but withall you fall ſhort of your Mother Kirke, in divers particulars, to inſtance in ſome.

The Laity with them are not the onely nor the cheife men in the managing of the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction, the Eccleſiaſticks are joyned with them, and moderate in their cheife Aſſemblies for Church matters. And ſecondly they derive the power of their Aſſembly from a Higher fountaine then the Parliament. Neither will they be inſtructed, much leſſe concluded by it in their debating and determining of Church matters, after the manner as you tutor your young Aſſembly; They pretend a claime from Chriſt, and under him acknowledge no Superiour.

Sir, Theſe are no leſſe then fundamentals in Church Government, wherein you are not yet agreed with your owne Mother, And whileſt there is ſo great a diſagreement betwixt the Mother, and the Daughter, meethinkes a propoſition for agreement with other Reformed Churches, fals not ſo kindly from your penne.

But you argue; The Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops appoint a certaine number of Laymen to exerciſe all Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction under them by their Authority, in their names, and under their Seales; And why may not the King and Parliament doe the ſame? You are ſicke of the new diſeaſe of the times, you will be reforming the Church Diſcipline, yet you underſtand it not; for the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops doe not appoint any Laymen to exerciſe all Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction under their names; for inſtance the power of the Keyes in excommunicating and abſolving is the maine part of Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction, and that neither is, nor can be delegated by the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops to any Layman; A Lay Chancellour or Commiſſary by vertue of his Commiſſion from his Biſhop, may adviſe and direct in point of Law, when it is fit to excommunicate and to abſolve, and he may exerciſe other parts of Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction. But the ſentence of excommunication

communication and absolution, is or should be ever pronounced by the Bishop in person, or at least by a Preist authorised thereunto by the Bishop, I shall therefore returne this Argument thus upon you, If a Bishop to whom the power of the Keyes was committed by Christ, cannot delegate this power to a Layman, much lesse then may any other doe it, to whom this power was never committed by Christ; The King we acknowledge by vertue of his Supremacy in causes Ecclesiasticall, may delegate to Laymen all that externall Jurisdiction, flowing from his Supremacy with power of outward coercion, by fines, imprisonments, and the like: but for the meere spirituall and internall part of it, consisting in the power of the Keyes, our Kings have ever disclaimed it, as not belonging to them; And I heartily wish your faction would also for their owne sakes forbeare this forbidden fruit, for besides that all acts done by such usurped power, and by persons uncapable, are meere nullities in themselves, the censures a plaine mockery, and no more to be esteemed then as *brutа fulmina*, bugbeares and scarcrowes, the committing or accepting of such power by Laymen is a high prophanation of Christs Ordinance, and a very abomination in the sight of God; And if *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* the famous president at the Counsell of *Nice*, called it the *abomination of desolation, for a Layman to judge at all in Ecclesiasticall affaires*; What would he have said, if Laymen alone (the Clergy wholly excluded) should have assumed all Ecclesiasticall power into their hands, according to the modell of your project? Take heed then in time, for if you goe on thus to invade the Sacred function, you have just cause to feare that Divine vengeance, which hath in like cases beene executed, when *Uzziah* was smitten with Leprosie, *Nadab* and *Abihu* were consumed with fire, and the ground clave asunder, and swallowed up *Corah* and his company.

According to the example of *S. Paul* Authorising the Presbyters of *Corinth* to excommunicate the incestuous *Corinthian* 1 *Cor.* 5.

Vide antea.

Suidas in vita Leontii.

Pamphlet.

And whether five or more of their learned Divines, appointed by Authority of Parliament to ordaine Ministers instead of one man, (when His Majesty gives the Title of a Bishop) appointed

to

to doe it by Act of Parliament, together with foure or more other Ministers.

Animadvers.

This is the other part of Episcopall power, namely the power of Ordination, which is in no part of it communicable to the Laity, no not by the Bishops themselves, as that of Jurisdiction in some part is. And therefore this power you would seeme to leave to some of the Clergy; but this Clergy must not be Bishops, (whom you would abolish) but simple Presbyters, contrary to the first institution of ordination, and the constant practices of Christendome in all ages and places till of later times. For as a late learned writer observes, and proves it fully in the particulars; That ordination by Presbyters is against the Canons and Sanctions Apostolicall, against the Decrees of 8 famous Councels in Christendome, of *Ancyra*, of *Antioch*, *Sardis*, *Alexandria*, two of *Constantinople*, the *Arausican Councell*, and that of *Hispalis*, against the Dogmaticall resolution of the fathers, *S. Cornelius*, *Cyprian*, *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, *Austin*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, yea of Saint *Hierome* himselfe, and divers others; against the constant voice of Christendome appropriating Ordination to the Bishops hands; and declaring all Ordinations by meere Presbyters to be voyd *ipso facto*. And that no Ordination by a non Bishop was ever approved of by any Councell, or single suffrage of any famous man in Christendome, till of very late yeares in this Westerne part of the World. But on the Contrary is reckoned by *Epiphanius* amongst his *Haereses*, where he delivers this Doctrine of the Catholique Church against *Aërius*. *That the Order of Bishops begets fathers to the Church, but the Order of Presbyters begets sons in Baptisme, but no Fathers or Doctors by Ordination.*

Upon the Sacred order and offices of Episcopacy, &c. p. 19. 7.

Haref. 75.

Upon these considerations I propound this case of conscience modestly for our selves, (leaving other moderne Churches to God and themselves.) We enjoying hitherto (by Gods blessing) the Order of Bishops and Ordination by the Imposition of their hands, according to the Constant practice of all Christendome in all ages. Whether the wilfull abolition of this Order and Ordination,

Ordination, will not be a formall Schisine and departure at least from the outward Communion of the Universall Church of Christ? I leave it to the judicious and Conscientious Christian to judge.

And whereas you say, that the King and Parliament appoint the Bishops now to ordaine with the assistance of foure, or more Ministers, you say truth in part; but you conceale that the Bishops have the power of Ordination from a Higher hand, from Christ; and your inference therefore from hence is very namely weak: That because the King & Parliament appoint the Bishops that have power to ordaine, to exercise that power, therefore they may appoint those that have no power, to do it, namely single Presbyters.

But what need you trouble your selves about Ordination by Ministers? For according to your principles why cannot Ordination be administred by Laymen, as well as the power of the Keyes in excommunication, and absolution? I see no reason but you may do the one, as well as the other. or if a Layman may not ordaine, how can you that are Laymen give Authority to ordain? I beleeve, would you speake out, (your principles and practices in the meane while speake it for you) You account Ordination a needlesse Ceremony, one of your Ordinances will enable whom you please sufficiently to do all Acts, either of Episcopall, or Preistly order; onely you must pretend to the people the use of some Ministers, to make so great a change the more passable and plausible at the present, not out of any great necessity you conceive either of Bishop or Preist to ordaine.

Your fore-fathers the thousand Ministers petitioning for reformation of Ceremonies, in the beginning of King *James* his Reigne acknowledge it to be scismaticall to ayme at the dissolution of the State Ecclesiasticall. for their petition was thus. *Wee the Ministers of the Gospell, in this Land neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the Church, nor as Schismaticks aiming at the dissolution of the State Ecclesiasticall, but desiring the redresse of divers abuses.* See the Petition answered fully by the University of Oxford.

Pamphlet

Be an alteration of that consequence as to be put in ballance with the safeguard of His Majesties Royall Authority, the increase of his revenue, the Unity of His Majesties Kingdoms in, and between themselves, and with other Reformed Churches; and the settling of a good understanding betweene the King, and his people, by securing unto them their religion and liberties.

Animad.

Animadverſ.

This is the ſumme of what you pretend in your Pamphlet, to the which I ſhall oppoſe the ſumme of what hath beene prooved to the contrary in the ſeverall Animadverſions, upon each particular, namely that this Abolition of Epiſcopacy will be an alteration of ſuch conſequence, as cannot be made without perverting the Ordinance of God, and ſubverting the fundamentall lawes of the Land. Not without the guilt of perjury, ſacriledge, & injuſtice upon the King and the whole Kingdom. That inſtead of aſſuring the Kings Authority, it will weaken it at the firſt, and deſtroy it at the laſt. That inſtead of increaſing the Kings revenue, it will deprive His Majeſty of the ſtanding revenue he hath now by Epiſcopacy. That inſtead of ſettling a good Union in His Majeſties owne Kingdoms, and between them and other Reformed Churches; it will diſolve the ſtate of this Kingdome in a very ſhort time, and lay a very dangerous foundation for the deſtroying of Monarchy, throughout the whole Chriſtian world. And laſtly that inſtead of cauſing a good underſtanding betweene His Majeſty and his people, by ſecuring unto them their Religion & Liberties; it will manifeſtly, & in a manner totally aboliſh the religion here eſtabliſhed, by the Reformation, in the Lyturgy of the Church, the order of Epiſcopacy, and many of the 39 Articles; and beſides will introduce a more then Papall ſlavery to be exerciſed both upon King and people.

See the laſt words of your late Covenant. *Reſecthing the Lord to bleſſe our deſires, and proceedings with ſuch ſucceſſe, as may be incouragement to the Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of the yoake of Anti-chriſtian Tyranny to joyne in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant.* I leave the Reader to conſider and judge whither this laſt clauſe tends.

The queſtion then upon the whole matter is, whether an alteration of ſuch a vaſt conſequence as this, be not the high way ſo farre to provoke the Majeſty of Heaven againſt us, as to deprive us of all theſe treaſures of bleſſings fore-mentioned both ſpirituall and temporall, which he hath conveyed to this land by the hands of Biſhops, and for our rebellious and unthankfull wantonneſſe, to give us a bill of divorce, and remove our Candleſticke from us to a Nation and People more worthy. Which God avert for his *mercies ſake in Chriſt Jeſus.* AMEN.

FINIS.

(68.)

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